STORIES FROM EARLY NEW YORK HISTORY

SHERMAN WILLIAMS

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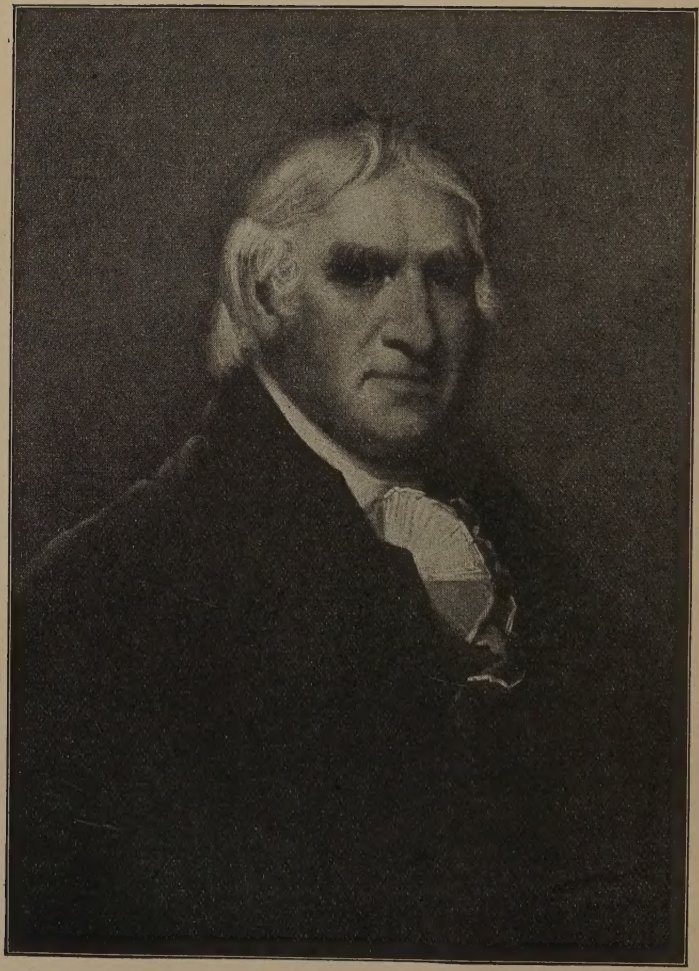

GEORGE CLINTON

Stories From Early New York History

BY

SHERMAN WILLIAMS

CONDUCTOR OF TEACHERS' INSTITUTES
STATE OF NEW YORK EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

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PREFACE

THE history of our state is not well known by its own sons and daughters. There is little opportunity for our boys and girls to become acquainted with it. Its story is very briefly and imperfectly told in our school histories. This perhaps is necessarily so. It is because the author feels the need of having the history of the more important events that have occurred in our state known to the boys and girls who are growing up that this volume has been written.

The early inhabitants of New England kept diaries and their descendants have written histories, consequently the part that New England, particularly Massachusetts, took in the development of our country has been fully, possibly a little boastfully, told by the loyal descendants of those who contributed so much toward making the history of our country glorious.

On the other hand the early Dutch in New York did their duty as they saw it, fought if called upon to do so, then went back to their homes, sat and smoked their pipes, and said little or nothing of their deeds. They kept no diaries. Their descendants have not written histories; so the story of the battle of Golden Hill has not been told, as has that of the Boston Massacre, which occurred later. The story of the battle of Bunker Hill is told everywhere, and every school boy knows it, but the far more important battle of Oriskany is barely mentioned in any of our school histories, and not

at all in some of them, therefore it is unknown to the great mass of our people. So it is with much of the history of the Empire State. Give Massachusetts full credit for her glorious record, she deserves it, but let not the trials, sufferings, and noble achievements of the people of our own state be forgotten. No other state has so noble and so glorious a history.

This little book has been written in the hope of arousing such an interest in our early history that all our boys and girls will desire to know it. Our young people should be proud of our state. They will be if they know its history.

One who is proud of his state, of his race, of his family, of the community in which he lives, is a better neighbor, a more creditable member of his family, reflects more honor on his race, and is a better citizen because of such pride.

I would have our boys and girls know the history of our state that they may know how much they owe to those who did so much to make possible such lives as we now live. I should like them to know the hardships of the frontier life that had to be borne, that we might have the comforts which we possess. When we recall the fact that only a little over a hundred years ago half our people lived in log huts; that window glass was a luxury, even in the towns; that some used oiled paper in the place of glass, but that the larger number had no natural light in their houses save that which came through open doors or shutters; that carpets of any kind were rare luxuries; that there were few cooking utensils, no stoves, and few conveniences of any sort; and no furniture but the rude kind made by those who used it, we shall have some comprehension of what we owe to our forefathers.

The making of our state has not been the work of a single people, or a single creed, or a single set of political principles. In the early days both Whig and Tory aided in its upbuilding. Jew, Catholic and Protestant have contributed to its welfare. English, Dutch, Irish, Scotch, German, Welsh, French, and other nationalities have all been indispensable to the best outcome. All these people; their diversity of religious thought; their difference in political convictions, have, when properly regarded and used, helped to make a great state and a great people.

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Stories From Early New York History

STORIES

FROM

EARLY NEW YORK HISTORY

NEW NETHERLAND

I was surprised to find how few, if any, of my fellow citizens were aware that New York had ever been called New Amsterdam, or had heard of the names of its early Dutch Governors.—WASHINGTON IRVING.

IF we are to know the history of our State well enough to comprehend the reasons for its development and its great prosperity we must learn much more than an ordinary school history gives. Above all we must have a fairly clear idea of the influence of the Iroquois Confederacy, and the early Dutch settlers.

The Dutch were a commercial people with great interests in India. In common with others they had long sought an all-water route to that country. Among the most noted of the men engaged in this search was an Englishman by the name of Henry Hudson. He had recently returned from a voyage in which he had been nearer to the north pole than any one else had ever been. Because of his numerous voyages, and because he was thought to know more about the American coast than any one else, the Dutch employed him to make another search for a north-west passage to India.

On the 4th of April, 1609, with a crew of less than twenty men, he set forth on his momentous voyage in a little yacht of only

eighty tons burden. On the 12th of July he reached Penobscot Bay where he repaired some damages to his ship and then sailed southward, probably as far as Virginia. He then turned to the north and on the 28th of August entered the Delaware Bay. Being soon convinced that he would find no westward passage here he continued his course northward and entered New York Bay. As he passed up the bay and entered the river the Indians, who very likely had never seen a vessel larger than a canoe, must have thought it a wonderful sight. The *Half-Moon* with its high stern and great spreading sails must have seemed a supernatural thing. It is said that the Indians looked upon Hudson and his men as being little less than gods.

THE HALF-MOON

Hudson thought that his long search for a western passage was ended, for the water was salt to the taste, and the river looked like an arm of the sea, as the lower part of it really is. He continued to ascend the gradually narrowing body of water till he was as far north as Hudson, possibly as far as Albany, when he was reluctantly forced to the conclusion that he had entered a river instead of a strait as he had hoped.

It may seem singular to us now that he should have been deceived at all as to the character of the body of water he had discovered, but if we recall the fact that at that time it was not supposed to be as far around the earth as we now know it to be, and that voyagers had seen across the Acomac peninsula into the Chesapeake Bay, and

also across the narrow strip of land that separates the Pamlico Sound from the Atlantic Ocean, it will no longer seem surprising to us. Hudson knew of these things and believed, as did others at that time, that only a narrow strip of land separated the Atlantic from the Indian Ocean, so it was reasonable to believe that a narrow strait might afford a passage from one to the other.

WHO DISCOVERED THE HUDSON?

Even at this late day it seems to be quite generally believed that Hudson was the first to discover the river which bears his name, but this is far from being the fact. It was on the 3d of September, 1609, that he sailed into New York harbor, but a few Hollanders belonging to the Greenland Company had built two little huts on Manhattan Island and spent the winter there as early as 1598. In 1524 John Verrazano, an Italian in the employ of the French, sailed into New York Bay and some distance up the river which he called Le Grand. No important results followed this discovery, though Verrazano reported it, and the French did some trading with the Indians and established a post near Albany. Possibly the failure to follow up this discovery was due to the fact that the French were terribly defeated at Pavia the next year and their king taken captive, and that two years later Verrazano was captured by the Spaniards and hanged as a pirate.

The year following the discovery of Verrazano, Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese in the service of the Spanish, entered New York harbor, traded with the Indians, and carried home a considerable quantity of furs, but for some reason the Spanish never again came so far north.

While the French had established a trading station near Albany and built a fort on a low island a few miles south of that city, they had abandoned both the station and the trade long before the coming of Hudson.

It is quite possible that the Northmen may have visited the Hudson at a date much earlier than any of those mentioned, but none of these discoveries detract at all from the importance of Hudson's, for it was from his, and his only, that any important results followed.

Early in October Hudson returned to Holland and reported his discoveries and the fact that the Indians had great stores of furs, but the Dutch were angry because he had failed in the chief purpose of his voyage. He went to England and soon started upon another search for the much coveted north-west passage. This time he entered the great bay which bears his name. While there his men mutinied and set him, and all those who were loyal to him, adrift in an open boat. Neither he nor any of his companions was ever heard of after, though a rescuing party was sent from England to search for them.

HENRY HUDSON

The Hudson has been known by a number of names. It was called North River to distinguish it from the Delaware which was then known as South River. It is still frequently called North River. Verrazano called it Le Grand on account of its size. The Dutch called it Mauritius in honor of Prince Maurice.

NEW AMSTERDAM

New York, the second city of the world, and the first on this continent, in population, wealth, and commercial importance, though very young indeed in comparison with any of its rivals, has a most interesting and marvellous history, a history which all Americans,

especially all residents of the Empire State, should know well. It has been in turn a Dutch village, an English town, and an American city.

Soon after the discovery of Hudson several parties fitted out small vessels to engage in the fur trade with the Indians. Among the most noted of the captains employed in this work was Adrien Block, for whom Block Island was named. He came to this country in the ship *Tiger* in 1613. One cold November night his vessel was destroyed by fire just off the point now known as the Battery. He and his companions were compelled to winter on the island. Being a man of great energy and resource Block not only constructed four small huts in which he and his men spent the winter, but he also built a forty-five foot yacht which he named the *Restless*. In a sense Block was the first settler in New York, and he certainly was the first ship-builder there. A bronze tablet at 41 Broadway marks the place where Block and his companions erected their houses.

The early fur-traders were so prosperous that in 1614 the merchants of Amsterdam obtained from the States General a monopoly of the trade in the territory, which their agents had explored. Their organization was known as the "United New Netherland Company." At the extreme southern point of the island, just south of the present Bowling Green Park, they erected a house for their traders, naming it Fort Amsterdam. This was the real beginning of the city of New York. Little could those men have dreamed that they had begun what would in less than three hundred years become the second city of the world.

Among the first acts of the agents of the New Netherland Company was a visit to the old fort which the French had built just below Albany in 1540. They found there an enclosure fifty-eight feet square, surrounded by a moat eighteen feet wide. They thoroughly repaired the whole, named it Fort Nassau, furnished it with a dozen small cannon mounted on swivels, and left twelve men in charge. It was soon found necessary to change the location of

the fort on account of floods and freshets so they moved four miles down the river; later they moved again, this time to a place within the present limits of the city of Albany. The fort erected there was called Fort Orange.

THE WEST INDIA COMPANY

Those engaged in the fur trade grew wealthy rapidly and in 1621 they organized the West India Company which was granted almost imperial powers by the States General. Although a private company it was given a charter empowering it to contract alliances, declare war, make peace, build forts, ships and cities; to administer justice, appoint and dismiss governors, and such other officers as might be needed in carrying on its various enterprises. It was granted a monopoly of all the trade on the Atlantic coasts of America and Africa. In return for all these powers and privileges the Company was to carry on trade in the territory in which it was given exclusive rights; to attack the Spaniards in their American colonies; and Spanish ships upon the seas. There were, however, some limitations upon the powers granted the Company. It had to obtain the consent of the States General before declaring war, and its most important appointments had to be confirmed by the home government.

In case of a declaration of war the States General were bound to furnish the Company with a fleet of twenty war ships which the Company was to man and support at its own expense. In addition to this the Company was to maintain a fleet of its own, in case of war, consisting of not less than twenty ships. It had as a matter of fact on some occasions as many as seventy vessels in commission at the same time.

There were three events of marked historical importance in the history of the Company. The capture of Bahia in 1624; the capture of the Spanish silver fleet in 1628; and the conquest of Pernambuco in 1630.

A Spanish silver fleet consisted of large armed transports conveying silver and gold from South America to Spain. These fleets were strongly armed because of their liability of being attacked by the enemies of Spain. Between 1626 and 1628 the Dutch West India Company captured one hundred and four Spanish prizes.

The prizes captured by the Dutch were so numerous and so valuable that for years the dividends of the Company ranged from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent. on the amount invested. This was so much more profitable than engaging in the fur trade, or in establishing settlements, that few were attracted to New Amsterdam and the colony gained very slowly in population.

At the outset there had been no thought of any enterprise in this country beyond developing the fur trade, but as time went on plans were made for bringing over colonists, laying out farms, and building towns. In 1623 thirty families of Walloons (French Protestants) came over in the ship *New Netherland*. Most of these people went to Long Island and settled on the site of the present city of Brooklyn. Others went to different localities, a few settled in the valley of the Connecticut, where the city of Hartford has since been built, a few went to Ulster County, and a small number to the Delaware River country. Sara Rapelje, a child of one of the Walloons who settled on Long Island, was the first white girl born in the colony. The name is still common in New York and on Long Island, though the spelling has been slightly changed.

About this time the Company began to offer settlers some inducements to come to the country and people began to arrive in considerable numbers. During the first few years the Company was represented by several agents. The first governor was appointed in 1626.

THE DUTCH GOVERNORS

With the exception that they could not inflict the death penalty the power of the governors sent over by the Dutch West India

Company was well nigh absolute. It is true that they were required to appoint a council composed of the wisest men of the colony, to whose advice they were to give due consideration, but the governors appointed whom they would and gave such consideration to their advice as they chose, or as was most frequently the case, none at all. There were a few other officers but they were mere creatures of the governor, or if they presumed to be more, means were found to get rid of them, or to interfere with the performance of their duties.

The people were practically servants of the Company with very few rights of their own. They could not own land, or trade with the Indians, or even among themselves, as the Company had monopolized all trade in the colony. The people were not allowed to engage in any kind of manufacturing, that also being one of the exclusive rights of the Company.

As time went on these things were modified somewhat, but to the end of the Dutch rule the people had very few rights, the Company and the patroons (great landed proprietors) having absolute control. Whether the government was harsh or mild depended solely upon the character of the governor and of the patroons.

Peter Minuit
1626–1633

Peter Minuit, the first Dutch governor, came over in 1626. He was well fitted for the work assigned him, having a kindly disposition, being inclined toward conciliation, and possessed of an inherent faculty for governing. In his long experience with the West India Company he had become skilled in controlling new countries. One of his first acts was to purchase Manhattan Island of the Indians, and to establish friendly relations with them. On the 6th of May, 1626, he met them near where the Battery now is, and purchased from them the entire island consisting of some twenty thousand acres, for which he gave a few beads, some col-

ored cloth, brass ornaments, and bits of glass, the whole valued at twenty-four dollars. While this now seems a ridiculously small sum to pay for that island, those who are fond of arithmetical calculations say that this sum placed at interest at that time and the interest regularly compounded would by this time have amounted to a sum as large as the present value of the island.

Minuit was active, energetic, friendly and honorable. His government, despotic in theory, was far from being so in practice. He permitted a good degree of political freedom, and complete religious liberty. At this time there were among the inhabitants of New Amsterdam Catholics, Lutherans, Baptists, Jews, Huguenots, and Walloons, the latter being a French speaking people of the Reformed Church from that part of the Netherlands now known as Belgium. The Walloons first fled to the Netherlands for protection. Later many of these people and the Huguenots were among the first settlers in this country. It is chiefly due to Minuit that New York has always enjoyed a large degree of religious freedom.

While Boston and Philadelphia were English towns, New York from its earliest days was a cosmopolitan city. Eighteen languages were spoken there in colonial times. Now there are sixty-six languages and dialects spoken in the city, and twenty-nine in one school district on the East Side of the city.

The city was christened New Amsterdam early in Minuit's time. The island took its name from that of a tribe of Indians living upon it. The name is said to mean "place of the whirlpool" and to refer to the boiling waters of Hell Gate in the East River.

It was in Minuit's time that people began to come to New York from all parts of the world, and this was in a very large degree due to his liberality. He gave all comers a cordial welcome and placed on an equal footing all who would take the oath of allegiance. The religious toleration that has always distinguished New York had its beginning with Minuit.

In 1612 or 1613 Captain Hendrick Christiaensen, the first agent

of the West India Company, had built a redoubt and four small houses on the ground now occupied by No. 38 Broadway. Governor Minuit proceeded to build a fort on or near the same site. It was a very primitive affair being a blockhouse encircled by palisades of cedar, backed by earthworks. It was known as Fort Amsterdam and was built by an engineer by the name of Friedericksen.

Minuit built for the Company a warehouse of stone, thatched with reeds, one corner of which was used as a store from which the people obtained their supplies, and where the Indians sold their beaver skins and purchased liquors. He also built a brewery, a bakery, and a horse mill, the loft of the latter being used for religious purposes. The first regularly ordained minister of the colony was Reverend Jonas Michaelius.

Along the bank of the East River, to the east of Fort Amsterdam, was a row of about thirty one-story log houses with bark roofs and wooden chimneys. Nearly all of the two hundred people then living in New Amsterdam occupied these houses. These cottages were all built on the west side of the street so as to face the river. This was the beginning of what is now known as Pearl street, the oldest street in the city. Since that time three other streets have been laid out between it and the river, all on made land.

Speaking of the early days in New York Fiske says: "Near the site of Canal street, the forest resounded nightly with the growl of bears, the wailing of panthers, the yelps of wolves, while serpents lurked in the dense underbrush."

The relations between Minuit, and Bradford of Plymouth, were friendly, though the latter could not forego giving expression to his belief that the Dutch were on English territory, and where they had no right to be. In these early days the Dutch, English, French, Swedes, and Spaniards laid claim to territory on very frail grounds. If they had made a landing, that was quite sufficient, and landing at one place seemed sufficient reason for claiming a

wide extent of territory. Even seeing the coast was regarded by some as constituting a valid claim to the country. It necessarily followed that there were many conflicting and overlapping claims. The English claimed the territory occupied by the Dutch on the flimsiest of grounds. Freneau expressed the matter very wittily as follows:

> "The soil they demanded, or threatened their worst,
> Insisting that *Cabot had looked at it first.*"

Minuit was recalled in 1632, being accused of treating the colonists too liberally and permitting them to encroach upon the Company's profits. He had also lost favor because of a shipbuilding scheme in which he became interested and into which he had put some of the Company's money. In 1631 two Belgian shipbuilders visited Manhattan and proposed utilizing the fine timber of the colony in building an immense ship. Minuit encouraged them and they built a ship of eight hundred tons burden, capable of mounting thirty guns. It was one of the largest vessels of the time and was called the *New Netherland*. Not for two hundred years was another vessel as large built in this country. There was really no need of a vessel of that size. The cost proved to be much greater than was anticipated and there was much fault found when the bills were presented. This led to a rigid investigation of the affairs of the Company by the States General resulting in Minuit's recall. He wished to develop the colony; the Company wished it to remain wholly dependent. During the governorship of Minuit the country was not settled as rapidly as the Company desired, so it offered certain special privileges to any of its directors or stockholders who within four years would establish a colony of not less than fifty persons over fifteen years of age. Those who took advantage of this offer were known as patroons. The story of this movement will form a chapter by itself.

Wouter Van Twiller
1633–1637

Van Twiller, a clerk in the office of the West India Company, at Amsterdam, had made two voyages to America in the interest of the Company before he was appointed governor. He married a niece of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, one of the Directors of the Company, and the most powerful and influential of the patroons. Van Twiller's appointment was no doubt due to the influence of Van Rensselaer, as the latter wished for governor one who was attached to his interests.

Van Twiller was a shrewd trader, but he had no practical knowledge of government. His good nature was about his only qualification for office. He was narrow-minded, irresolute, slow in thought and action, and woefully lacking in judgment of men. Though stubborn he was easily influenced by stronger minds. He was possessed of a petty spirit, his morals were questionable, and he was unduly fond of good living.

In personal appearance Van Twiller was far from attractive, being short and exceedingly stout, with sandy hair and small blue eyes. While Irving's descriptions are not usually to be taken very seriously he was not so very far wrong when he said Wouter Van Twiller was "exactly five feet six inches in height and six feet five inches in circumference."

Van Twiller brought one hundred and four soldiers with him, the first to be sent here by the Dutch. There also came with him the second minister of the colony, Dominie Bogardus, a man who was destined to be an important factor in the affairs of New Amsterdam. He was a man of striking appearance, and intellectually and morally greatly the superior of Van Twiller, though not without faults. He had a hot temper, and like Van Twiller was unduly fond of high living. He was fearless in the performance of his duty and never spared the shortcomings of others, as

both Van Twiller and his successor Kieft learned to their discomfiture.

Bogardus was not satisfied to preach in the loft of the horse mill as his predecessor had done, so in 1633 the Company built a church for him on Pearl street, about half way between Whitehall and Broad streets. It was a plain wooden structure, not greatly unlike an ordinary barn of the present day, but it was satisfactory to those who used it. In 1642 a stone church was erected within the walls of the fort.

The Dutch interested themselves in schools at a very early day. Their interest in public schools is shown on nearly every page of their records. Adam Roelantsen, the first schoolmaster, came to New Amsterdam with Van Twiller. He lived on the north side of what is now Stone street. By the time of Stuyvesant schools were established in nearly every town and village.

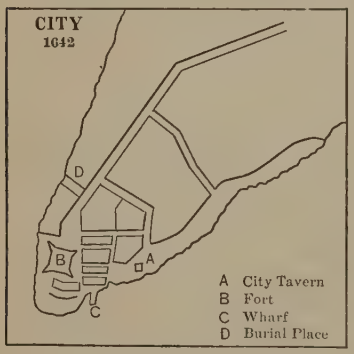
In return for the special privileges given the patroons they were required among other things to employ a schoolmaster for the benefit of their people. When the English obtained control they manifested but little interest in education, but the Dutch continued to maintain their schools at their own expense. In 1637 they obtained a special charter from the English government permitting them to erect churches and schoolhouses. Often the same building served as church and schoolhouse.

Van Twiller was constantly engaged in bickerings with the English, and had some trouble with the patroons, but kept on good terms with most of the settlers, and like his predecessor lived peaceably with the Indians.

He completed in his shiftless manner the fort which Minuit had left unfinished. The fort was three hundred feet long and two hundred and fifty feet wide, built in the form of a quadrangle with bastions at the angles. The bastion at the north-west corner was faced with stone, but all the rest of the walls were mere banks of earth, and without ditches. Within the fort were built barracks,

a guard house, public offices, and for the governor, a substantial brick house, which at that time was by far the best house in the colony.

Van Twiller tilled the largest of the Company's farms on his own account and used the slaves belonging to the Company for that purpose. He appropriated another of the Company's farms for a tobacco plantation. The others he either neglected or allowed to be used without compensation by men no more honest than himself.



MAP OF NEW YORK IN 1642

About 1636 Van Twiller gave a farm of sixty-two acres on the west side of the island to one of the colonists named Jans. The farm was between Broadway and the Hudson River, and north of Warren street. Jans died soon after, leaving the farm to his widow, who later married Dominie Bogardus, after which time the place was known as the "Dominie's Bouwerie." After the death of Bogardus the property passed into the possession of Colonel Lovelace, and finally became a part of what was known as the "King's Farm." In 1703 the land was given to Trinity Church by Queen Anne. What was then a farm is now in the heart of a great city and a large part of it is still owned by Trinity, which derives a princely revenue from it that it uses for many beneficent purposes.

Bogardus was a resolute and capable man. From the first he was a leader in the affairs of New Amsterdam. His marriage with the wealthy widow Annetje Jans added to his importance and influence. He was constantly at odds with Van Twiller, and later engaged in a bitter controversy with Kieft.

On one of the farms belonging to the Company Van Twiller built a country house, a barn, boathouse, brewery, and houses for

laborers, all this for his own use, but with the Company's money. He bought from the Indians the island now known as Governor's Island, several islands in the East River, as well as considerable land elsewhere. He was finally removed from office charged with diverting the money of the Company to his own use. It was certainly a suspicious circumstance that a man of little means and a small salary should in a comparatively short time become the wealthiest man in the colony. He remained in the province many years after his removal from office, and died in Holland in 1657.

William Kieft

1637–1647

In William Kieft the Company made another sorry choice for governor, for he was quite without talent for managing men, the qualification desirable beyond all others. He was a small, fussy, bristling, avaricious man, but industrious and strictly temperate. His education was limited and his egotism unbounded. He knew nothing whatever of government. With the affairs of the province in the hands of one possessed of almost unlimited authority, and so poorly equipped for the office of governor as was Kieft, it was almost certain that there would be continual trouble.

Kieft assumed office with the air of one who did not intend either to seek or to take advice; one who would not tolerate any interference with his plans. Being allowed to fix the number of his Councilors he appointed one, whom he allowed one vote, while he claimed two votes for himself. In this matter, however, Kieft did not differ from the other Dutch governors so far as the principles involved were concerned. The only difference was in the matter of details. They all ruled arbitrarily.

Kieft found the affairs of the colony in a bad way. Van Twiller had used whatever energy he possessed in looking after his own affairs rather than those of the Company. The fort was almost in

ruins, and the church was but little better off, the condition of the latter no doubt being due to the quarrels between Van Twiller and Bogardus. Smugglers were numerous and bold. Guns, ammunition, and liquors were being sold to the Indians in violation of law. All these evils Kieft proceeded to right with a strong hand. He was as positive as Van Twiller was doubtful, and as active as Van Twiller was phlegmatic. He issued a great number of proclamations, threatening with death any one who sold arms to the Indians.

FIRST CITY HALL, BUILT IN 1642

He ordered all the sailors to be on board their vessels by nightfall. He forbade any one to leave the island without a passport, directed the mode of culture for tobacco, determined the hours when men should begin and end their work, and when they should go to bed. He forbade the sale of liquor at retail except "wine in moderate quantities." In short as Fiske says, "If proclamations could reform society, the waspish and wiry little governor would have had the millennium in full operation within a twelvemonth."

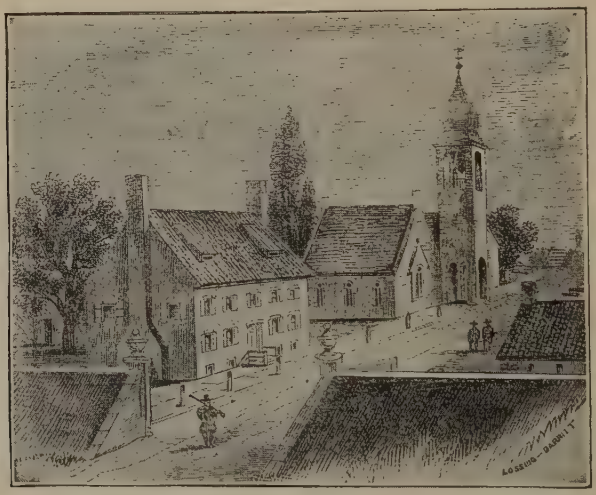
Kieft was hypocritical, self-important, venomous toward his opponents, lacking in tenacity of purpose, sensitive to criticism, and hated and despised by all classes of citizens. He was such a blusterer, and his anger was so easily and so frequently aroused that he came to be known as "William the Testy."

In the fourth year of Kieft's rule he conceived the idea of holding two annual fairs, one in October for the display of fine cattle, and the other in November for the exhibition of hogs. These fairs were held before the fort in the open space that was afterward known as "Bowling Green." Near by he built a large stone tavern to accommodate the people who came from a distance. This was afterward used as the first City Hall, or the Stadt Huys, as the Dutch called it. At one time a school was kept in this building. It was here that the articles of capitulation were signed when the Dutch surrendered to the English; here that the first admiralty court was held in 1668.

The patroon system had not been very effective in bringing colonists to the country, so the Company offered to carry to New Amsterdam free of charge any farmer who wished to emigrate, and to furnish him with as much land as he could properly cultivate, also to build him a house and a barn, give him horses, cows, pigs, and the necessary farming implements. In return the farmer was to pay an annual rent of two hundred dollars for six years, at the expiration of which time the farm and all the increase in stock became his on condition of his signing a pledge to submit to the authority of the officers appointed by the West India Company. The Company agreed to keep the fort and public buildings in repair, and to furnish ministers, schoolmasters, and negro slaves.

The Indian warfare was by far the most important event during the administration of Kieft. His predecessors had avoided this trouble, and Kieft has been greatly, and no doubt justly, blamed for not succeeding equally well, but we ought not to forget that the situation was a delicate and somewhat difficult one. The Dutch

had dealings with two great Indian confederacies that were engaged in constant and deadly warfare with each other, and it was no easy matter to keep from becoming involved with one party or the other. Still both Minuit and Van Twiller had done so. At Albany the Dutch were closely related through trade with the great Iroquois



GOVERNOR'S HOUSE AND CHURCH WITHIN THE FORT

nation, while at New Amsterdam and along the lower Hudson their relations were with the Algonquins.

It would take altogether too much space to give an account of the wars with the Indians during Kieft's administration, wars that seem to have been avoidable. There is evidence that Kieft sought rather than avoided war. He first attempted to tax the Indians, asking them to furnish furs, corn, and wampum, to help pay for repairing the fort. This the Indians refused to do as the fort was not for their protection. Kieft punished the Indians severely for comparatively slight offences. An Indian stole a pig from a farm

on Staten Island, and the Governor sent a party of soldiers to the tribe to which the offender belonged, with the result of killing ten of the Indians, not one of whom had committed any offence.

The Mohawks came down from the north and attacked one of the Algonquin tribes. The Algonquins fled in terror, some of them going to Pavonia, while others crossed to Manhattan and occupied the fields near the present Grand Street ferry. They asked protection from the Dutch, who were unable to give it because of a treaty with the Iroquois in which it was agreed that the Dutch should not interfere in the war between the Iroquois and Algonquins. Here was an opportunity to act as a mediator with a chance of winning the affections of both nations; but instead of this Kieft, while pleading his treaty obligations as a reason for not aiding the Algonquins, in violation of this very treaty sent a party of soldiers to attack a friendly tribe. It was a dastardly act. The soldiers passed over to the New Jersey shore and murdered—for it was murder and not warfare—more than a hundred of the unoffending and unsuspecting Algonquins. They were at peace with the Dutch and had given no offence. They had no thought of being attacked by them and had made no provision for defence. They were shot down in a night attack, offering almost no resistance. The soldiers murdered men, women, and children indiscriminately. The next night forty more were killed at Corlear's Hook, not even infants being spared. It is one of the most shameful chapters in our early history. Kieft seems to have thought it a cheap way of getting possession of the lands of the Indians, but such did not prove to be the case.

It should be said that the Dutch settlers did not approve of Kieft's action. Dominie Bogardus and other influential men protested most vigorously, but ineffectively, against the expeditions. The act was Kieft's, but the suffering that followed came home to the whole colony. Eleven Algonquin tribes made common cause against the Dutch. Men were shot as they worked in the fields;

buildings were burned and crops destroyed; women and children were made captive and carried away. The Dutch fitted out expeditions to attack Indian towns. This went on for two years or more, till both Indians and colonists were worn out. More than a thousand Indians were killed, and there were scarcely more than a hundred white men left on Manhattan Island. The population of the whole colony had shrunk from three thousand to one thousand. This was the outcome of Kieft's Indian policy. He could not escape criticism for nearly all the settlers were opposed to his management, but he, not they, had the power to determine what should be done.

It was largely because of the disastrous Indian wars during Kieft's administration that the Dutch were in no condition to resist the forces of the Duke of York in 1664.

Dominie Bogardus from his pulpit made bitter attacks upon Kieft, charging him with murder, covetousness, and gross excesses. For many months Kieft not only refused to enter the church, but tried to induce others to take the same course. He allowed the drums to be beaten in the fort during the hours of service in the church, and had cannons fired while Bogardus was preaching. Kieft summoned Bogardus to appear before the Council to answer charges. This led to a very bitter controversy between the two men, but Bogardus never obeyed the summons, and nothing came from the charges.

The people made so many and so bitter complaints to the home government against Kieft that he was finally recalled. When he returned to Holland Bogardus took passage on the same ship for the purpose of preferring charges against him, but the vessel was wrecked and both Bogardus and Kieft were drowned.

Fort Amsterdam was on the land now enclosed by Bowling Green, Whitehall, Bridge, and State streets. It bore different names at different times, and these names are historical. From 1614 to 1626 it was known as Fort Manhattan, but during the time of the Dutch governors, that is, from 1626 to 1664, it was called

Fort Amsterdam. When the English captured the city they called the fort, in honor of their king's brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II., Fort James, a name which it bore till 1673, when the Dutch recaptured the city and instead of restoring the old Dutch name they called it Fort Willem Hendrik in honor of their Stadtholder, afterwards William III. of England. The following year the city passed again into the hands of the English and the fort had a succession of names in honor of various British sovereigns, James, William Henry, Anne, and George being the successive names it bore.

The fort was removed about 1788 to make room for a residence which was to be erected for the President of the United States. Before this residence was completed the capital of the country was removed to Philadelphia, and the house was used for some years as the residence of the governor of the State. Later it was used for the New York Custom House.

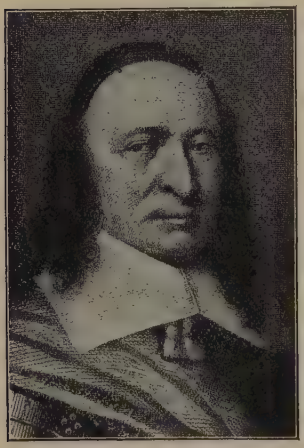
At an early day two main roads were laid out in New Amsterdam, one leading from the fort north through Broadway to Chatham Square, thence along the present Bowery through the interior of the Island. The other also began near the fort, and led northward to the ferry which was situated at the site of the present Peck Slip. This ferry was probably established as early as 1642. The first ferryman was Cornelius Dircksen. He carried passengers for three stivers (a stiver is a Dutch coin worth about two cents). It took about an hour to make the passage.

Peter Stuyvesant
1647–1664

1858

Peter Stuyvesant was the last and by far the most capable of the Dutch governors of New Netherland. He was the son of a clergyman, was well educated, and quite proficient in Latin, of which accomplishment he was very vain. He chose the profession of arms in his youth and had long been in the service of the West India Company. He had shown much executive ability while serving

as director of the Company at one of its stations. He lost a leg in an attack on the Portuguese and on that account returned to Holland for treatment and while there was appointed governor of New Amsterdam. He was not given as large powers as were granted to his predecessor, but it is possible notwithstanding that he exercised even greater, for all the Dutch governors were little less than autocrats. While the governors had associated with them a Council and various other officials with whom they were expected to coöperate, they all acted with perfect independence save on rare occasions, and this was the chief reason why they were at odds with the settlers a great part of the time.



PETER STUYVESANT

In entering upon his duties Stuyvesant said to the people, "I shall govern you as a father his children, for the advantage of the chartered West India Company, and these burghers, and this land." This was not the language of one who expected to be controlled by public opinion. Stuyvesant was a masterful personality, and he held as strongly to his right to rule arbitrarily as did Kieft, though he made a much better ruler because he was both a better and an abler man. Irving describes Stuyvesant as "a valiant, weather-beaten, mettlesome, obstinate, leathern-sided, kind-hearted old governor."

It was proposed that the Council should give Kieft the customary vote of thanks for his official conduct, as he turned the government over to his successor; but two of the members, Melyn and Kuyter, the two who had been most active in bringing about the recall of Kieft, refused to vote in favor of this, saying that they had no cause to thank him and would not do so. Later these men presented a

petition asking for a judicial inquiry into the policy and behavior of Kieft. This Stuyvesant refused to grant, possibly thinking that to do so would establish a precedent that might some time prove awkward in his own administration. In refusing this petition he said it was "treason to petition against a magistrate, whether there was cause or not." Then Kieft, finding that he had a sympathizer in Stuyvesant, demanded that Melyn and Kuyter be summoned to show cause why they should not be banished as "pestilent and seditious persons."

Stuyvesant granted the request and the accused were ordered to reply within forty-eight hours. Though these men brought abundant evidence to sustain their charges against Kieft, they were convicted. Their trial was a mere formality. No doubt Stuyvesant had determined in advance that they should be punished. Melyn was sentenced to pay a fine of three hundred guilders and be banished from the colony for seven years. Kuyter's sentence was three years' banishment and a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders. Stuyvesant forbade either of them to appeal to the home government, saying, "Were I persuaded that you would bring this matter before their High Mightinesses I would have you hanged from the highest tree in New Netherland." Stuyvesant wished to have Melyn hanged for the offence he had already committed, but he did not quite dare to go to that length, arbitrary and autocratic as he was.

Speaking of appealing to the home government for any redress at any time, Stuyvesant said, "If any one during my administration shall appeal I will make him a foot shorter and send the pieces to Holland that he may appeal in that way." These things show what an absolute despot Stuyvesant was, and yet though his was an iron rule he made in the main a pretty good governor for those times.

Notwithstanding the threats and commands of Stuyvesant, Melyn and Kuyter sailed for Holland on the same ship with Kieft and Bogardus with the purpose of appealing to the home govern-

ment. As has already been stated, the vessel was wrecked. While Kieft, Bogardus, and most of the passengers were drowned, Melyn and Kuyter escaped. In the presence of death Kieft confessed that he had wronged these men and asked to be forgiven.

Melyn and Kuyter spent several days in dragging the shallow waters where the ship was wrecked, and finally succeeded in recov-

STUYVESANT'S HOUSE AT WHITEHALL, ERECTED 1658

ering some of their most important papers. With these they proceeded to Holland, where they completely justified their action, and Melyn returned to New Amsterdam with safe-conduct from the States General and also a writ of mandamus citing the Director to appear at The Hague in person or by attorney to defend himself as to the charges preferred against him. It happened that the people were assembled in church when Melyn landed at New Amsterdam, so he had the intense satisfaction of reading the judgment and mandamus to the whole assemblage. Stuyvesant was stung and

humiliated. He refused to have any communication whatever with Melyn and declared that he would obey the mandamus by sending his attorney to speak for him. Nothing further seems to have been done with the matter.

Under Kieft New Amsterdam was a feeble town constantly harried by the Indians, but under Stuyvesant it became firmly established and orderly. The iron governor fairly rivalled Kieft in

STUYVESANT'S HOUSE IN THE BOWERY

the matter of proclamations, but they were more sensible and far more effective.

There had been religious toleration in New Amsterdam till the time of Stuyvesant. He was positive and obstinate, and being a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, he would recognize no other. He persecuted the Lutherans from Holland, and the Baptists and Quakers from New England. The record of his acts in this matter does not furnish pleasant reading. He was so severe, so inhuman in fact, that he received a sharp rebuke from the

Amsterdam Chamber. A letter from it closes as follows: "The consciences of men ought to be free and unshackled, so long as they continue moderate, peaceable, inoffensive, and not hostile to the government. Such have been the maxims of prudence and toleration by which the magistrates of this city have been governed; and the consequences have been that the oppressed and persecuted from every country have found among us an asylum from distress. Follow in the same steps and you will be blest."

In the early part of his administration Stuyvesant had very little trouble with the Indians, as he always treated them justly and kindly, but if you have on the one hand savages, and on the other a population containing some dishonest, some foolish, some cruel, and some unprincipled persons, no ruler will always be able to prevent a collision. There had been peace with the Indians for ten years when, by a gross outrage on their part the whites again brought upon themselves all the horrors of an Indian war. While Stuyvesant was absent on an expedition against the Swedes, who, having settled on the Delaware, were accused of being upon Dutch territory, one Hendrick Van Duyck shot and killed a squaw whom he caught stealing his peaches. This most foolish and wicked act was followed by a terrible retribution. The men of the tribe to which the murdered woman belonged roused all the river Indians and entered the town with a force of two thousand warriors. The officials held a parley with the sachems and finally induced the Indians to enter their canoes and go over to Governor's Island; the savages, however, returned in the night and killed Van Duyck, as well as one of his neighbors who came to his defence. The burghers were quickly aroused and succeeded in driving off the Indians, who then passed over to the New Jersey shore. In the struggle five of the whites and three of the Indians were killed.

The savages were now thoroughly aroused. They burned Hoboken and Pavonia, massacring the inhabitants, and then passed over to Staten Island and ravaged it. In three days one hundred

of the Dutch were killed, one hundred and fifty taken prisoners, and more than three hundred left without homes, while grain and stock were generally destroyed. Such was the price paid for the extreme folly and wickedness of one man.

At this time Stuyvesant returned. It would have been easy for him to have precipitated a long and bloody Indian war, for there was ample justification for meting out severe punishment; but Stuyvesant recognized that while the Indians deserved punishment, they were not the aggressors, and also that it was not possible to punish the Indians except at the cost of the lives of many of the whites, so while he prepared for war he sought for peace and obtained it. Later he was engaged in a war with the Esopus Indians in which he seems to have been guilty of unpardonable atrocities, but it is difficult to fully understand at this late day all the conditions surrounding that unfortunate affair.

A DUTCH WINDMILL

New Amsterdam was incorporated as a city during Stuyvesant's administration. The charter was proclaimed to the inhabitants on the 2d of February, 1653. At that time the city had about fifteen hundred inhabitants.

Stuyvesant had considerable trouble with the patroons, as did the other Dutch governors. Van Rensselaer wished to be wholly independent of the Governor, and there was much trouble between him and Stuyvesant. An appeal was made to the home government and Stuyvesant was sustained on every point at issue.

The English had never abandoned their claim to the territory

occupied by the Dutch, but there had been no opportune time to enforce it. They could well afford to wait, as the population of the English colonies was increasing much more rapidly than that of the Dutch. By the time of Stuyvesant the English greatly outnumbered the Dutch in this country. Trained soldier as he was

NEW AMSTERDAM IN 1656

Stuyvesant saw what this portended and was continually urging the home government to send him men and means to fortify New Amsterdam, but without avail.

In 1652 war broke out between England and the Dutch Republic. The people of New Amsterdam were alarmed, and with good reason. They repaired the fort and built a wall across the lower end of the island to protect themselves from an attack on the north by the Indians, or the English from the New England colonies. No such attack was ever made and the provision for defence proved unnecessary, but the event is of interest in that it gave name to one of the most noted streets in the world, of which some account will be given later.

THE ENGLISH CAPTURE NEW AMSTERDAM

While the expected attack was not made, one was made most unexpectedly at another time, a time when England and Holland were at peace. The English King granted his brother, the Duke

CANAL IN BROAD STREET IN 1659

of York and Albany, a patent covering Long Island and the mainland from the Connecticut to the Delaware. This included the whole of the Dutch possessions in America.

The Duke wished to take possession of this territory, but feared he might not be able to do so if it was known that he was to make the attempt, so an expedition consisting of four vessels and five hundred soldiers, under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, was fitted out secretly in order that the Dutch might be taken by

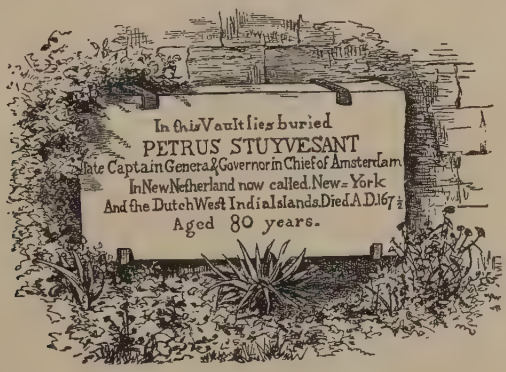
surprise. The enterprise was a complete success. In August, 1664, the fleet reached the lower New York Bay and seized the block-house on Staten Island. Stuyvesant was wholly unprepared to defend New Amsterdam. He had only one hundred and fifty regular soldiers, and was not sure of the loyalty of the militia, but had he been, they numbered only two hundred and fifty, and lacked mili-

ST. MARK'S CHURCH

tary training and discipline. Many of the people, many of the members of the militia even, were English and would welcome English rule.

The fleet carried nearly one hundred cannon and the fort mounted but twenty; still, great as were the odds against him, the brave and obstinate old soldier prepared for defence, though he had very little support. Nicolls not only had an overwhelming force, but he offered the very mildest terms of surrender. In a letter to Stuyvesant Nicolls said, "I am further commanded to assure you, and every respective inhabitant of the Dutch nation that his Majesty being tender of the effusion of Christian blood, doth by these presents, confirm and secure to every man his estate, life and liberty, who shall readily submit to his government." This letter Stuy-

vesant refused to show to the people, fearing its effect upon them, and when they insisted upon seeing the letter he tore it in pieces; but in some way its contents became known and nearly a hundred of the leading men of the town, including Stuyvesant's own son, signed a petition begging him to accept the terms offered. While Stuyvesant declared that he "would rather be carried out dead than surrender," there was nothing else for him to do unless he attempted the defence alone, so reluctantly and sadly he signed the articles of


In this Vault lies buried
PETRUS STUYVESANT
late Captain General & Governor in Chief of Amsterdam
In New Netherland now called New-York
And the Dutch West India Islands. Died A.D. 167½
Aged 80 years.

TOMB OF PETER STUYVESANT

capitulation. In taking possession of the town Nicolls proclaimed that citizens of every race and creed should be secure in person, property, and religion.

Some time after his surrender Stuyvesant was summoned to Holland to justify his course in giving up the city. This he did most completely, after which he returned and passed the remainder of his days in the town he loved so well. For many years his home was one of the landmarks of the city. His "bouwerie" occupied the territory now bounded by Sixth and Seventeenth streets, Fourth Avenue, and East River. His house was near the corner of Third Avenue and Twelfth street. He was very fond of fruits and

flowers and found great pleasure in his garden. A pear tree which he planted in 1667 stood near the corner of Third Avenue and Twelfth street for two hundred years. The spot is now marked by a bronze tablet.

Stuyvesant died in 1672 at the age of eighty, and was buried beneath the chapel which he had built on his farm. His widow lived in the old mansion till her death in 1687. In her will she provided for founding St. Mark's Church, which is the oldest church in the city, thirty years older than Trinity. It stood on what was a part of the Stuyvesant farm. The present edifice, built in 1802, stands on the same site. A tablet in the east wall marks the final resting place of the greatest of the Dutch governors.

THE PATROONS

In 1629 the Assembly of Nineteen proposed, and the States General ratified, an act providing that any director or stockholder of the Dutch West India Company who within four years should found a colony of not less than fifty persons upward of fifteen years of age, might select a tract of land with a frontage of sixteen miles on one side, or eight miles on each side of any navigable stream in New Netherland, the estate to extend as far back from the river as the owner cared to explore. The Island of Manhattan was excluded from the provisions of this offer. The owners of these great estates were called patroons and their estates were known as manors. The patroons were required to satisfy the Indians for the land which they took possession of. This they were able to do at a very trifling expense to themselves. They were also required to maintain a minister and a schoolmaster for the benefit of their tenants. The West India Company reserved to itself the exclusive right to the fur trade, and imposed a duty of five per cent. upon all trade of any kind carried on by the patroons.

The purpose of this system was to hasten the settlement of the

country, but it had the opposite effect, as one would suppose might have been foreseen. The patroons were petty sovereigns exercising complete control over their tenants, who for a period of ten years were not allowed to leave their service, or to leave the estate without a written permit from the patroon. The tenants were practically slaves to the estate for the period of time mentioned.

Such settlers as emigrated at their own expense were to have as much land as they could properly cultivate and be exempt from all taxes for ten years; but they were not permitted to have any voice in the government, nor were they allowed to engage in any kind of manufacturing or trade with the Indians for furs. These and many other arbitrary restrictions caused much ill feeling. Two hundred years later this system was the cause of an insurrection.

The West India Company promised to protect the colonists against all enemies, to build a suitable fort on Manhattan Island, and to furnish as many slaves "as they conveniently could."

This general scheme of colonization had in its provisions both good and evil. It provided for schools and churches and satisfied the Indians for their lands, but introduced slavery, monopoly in land, and aristocratic privileges.

The patroons, with their great landed estates and almost absolute power, the arbitrary government of the manor lords—they made all the laws and appointed all the officials—constituted a practical reintroduction of the feudal system in a somewhat modified form; it was trying in a new country, early in the seventeenth century, a form of government that had died in Europe more than three hundred years before, after four hundred years of trial. It may have been of some immediate advantage, but it brought many evil consequences in its train. It is greatly to be wondered that the liberty-loving Dutch should have hit upon such a form of government for colonies made up of their own people. It was one of the chief factors that operated to prevent the Dutch colonies from keeping pace in growth and development with those of the English on the north,

which were much less favorably situated in regard to soil, climate, and facilities for trade and transportation.

We must have some understanding of the great estates of the patroons and the relation of their owners to the government and

VAN RENSSELAER MANOR HOUSE

to the people of the colony if we are to comprehend fully an important period in the early history of our State.

The most noted of the great manors was that of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer. It included what now forms the counties of Albany and Rensselaer, together with a part of Columbia County. The tract began at the mouth of the Mohawk and extended twenty-four miles to the south and was forty-eight miles wide. It contained about seven hundred thousand acres. The cities of Cohoes, Troy, and Albany are within this territory. At a later date the family

came into the possession of Claverack, which was known as the Lower Manor. It contained sixty-two thousand acres and included the site of the present city of Hudson. The Van Rensselaer manor was the only one of these great estates that proved to be a real success. The first patroon was Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, who never came to this country. The second patroon, Johannes Van Rensselaer, died young, and like his predecessor never saw the estate. The third patroon, another Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, did come to this country, but died young and left no children.

During the time of the first patroon the estate was managed by a cousin of the owner, Arent Van Corlear, a very remarkable man. He was wonderfully successful in dealing with the Indians and was much beloved by the Mohawks, so much so that they ever afterward called the governors of the colony "Corlear."

The first manor located was that of Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, who purchased two great tracts of land, one on the west shore of the Delaware Bay, and the other on the opposite shore including Cape May. They called their estate Swaaendeal.

Michael Pauw located a manor in New Jersey, including what is now Paulus Hook, Hoboken, and the adjoining country. He called the manor Pavonia. He afterward added Staten Island to his purchase.

Although the provisions of the act under which these great estates were secured excluded Manhattan Island from the territory open to occupation, Stuyvesant, Kip, and DeLancey located manors there. Lawrence had one on Long Island. Between Harlem River and Peekskill were the manors of Morris, DeLancey, Van Courtlandt, and Philipse. The lower Philipse manor or patent included a large part of the present county of Westchester. The Van Courtlandt manor reached as far north as Anthony's Nose. Above Peekskill were the manors of Van Courtlandt, Livingston, Beekman, Kip, Schuyler, and Van Rensselaer. It will be noted that some of these men had more than one manor. The Schuylers occu-

pied the country about Poughkeepsie. The territory of the Livingstons extended from Rhinebeck to Catskill Station, now known as Greendale.

The patroon system so discouraged individual enterprise that it was modified by a new charter granted in 1640, which somewhat curtailed the privileges and powers of the patroons and created a great number of smaller estates that were owned and controlled by persons known as "masters of estates."

ANTI-RENT TROUBLES

The patroons to a large extent evaded the intention of the charter of 1640 by selling land to their tenants under a form of deed that provided for a perpetual rent; that is, the tenant never absolutely owned the land, though he and his heirs could occupy it as long as they paid the rent. The amount of the rent was not exorbitant, but the idea that there could never be real ownership of the land, and the possibility that improvements made might be wholly lost through a degree of adversity that would make the payment of rent temporarily impossible, was so repugnant to the occupants that repeated but unsuccessful efforts were made to arrange with the patroons for absolute purchase. As time went on the feeling grew more and more intense and the friction between the tenants and the agents of the patroons more and more pronounced. In 1839 associations of farmers known as "anti-renters" were formed in several of the counties of the State. The purpose of these organizations was to attempt through concerted action to secure some form of relief. Failing in this, these people became so aroused that they resisted the officers of the law. One man whose actions had made him specially offensive to the "anti-renters" was murdered at Grafton, Rensselaer County. The criminal was never discovered. The disturbances became so general over the infected territory that Governor Seward called the attention of the legislature to the

matter in his messages in 1841 and again in 1842. No effective action was taken and the disturbances grew more and more serious till in 1845 Governor Wright declared Delaware County to be in a state of insurrection. Several persons, tried for conspiracy and resistance to law, were convicted and sent to states prison.

To this the "anti-renters" responded by organizing a political party favorable to what they regarded as being their interests. For

KIP'S HOUSE

several years they elected about one-eighth of the members of the legislature. Upon the revision of the constitution of the State in 1846 a clause was inserted abolishing all feudal tenures and forbidding the leasing of agricultural lands for a longer term than twelve years. The same year Governor Wright, who was a candidate for reëlection, was defeated by John Young, who was supported by the "anti-renters." Upon his accession to office Governor Young pardoned all who had been convicted because of any complicity in the anti-rent disturbances. The disturbances ceased soon after the election of Young. This whole matter illustrates most forcibly the

fact that a wrong or unwise act is pretty sure to be followed by unpleasant consequences, though the day of reckoning may be postponed for a long time. It was more than two hundred years from the establishment of the patroon system to the "anti-rent" war.

A FEW INTERESTING FACTS

In 1658, Jacob Kip, who had married the daughter of Dr. La Montague, a learned and aristocratic Huguenot who fled from France to escape religious persecution, was chosen by Kieft as the sole member of his council and secretary of the province. Kip owned a farm of one hundred and fifty acres on the East River in the locality now known as Kip's Bay, not far from Thirty-fifth street. For a short time Washington occupied this house as his headquarters.

In 1656 it was ordered that all vacant lots should be improved, and that those who did not obey the order within nine months would have their lots confiscated. At that time the best city lots were worth fifty dollars. Houses rented at from fourteen to one hundred dollars a year. The population of the city at that time was about one thousand, a large part of it being slaves. In 1657 Stone street was paved with cobble stones, being the first street in the city to be paved. The gutter was in the middle of the street, and there were no sidewalks.

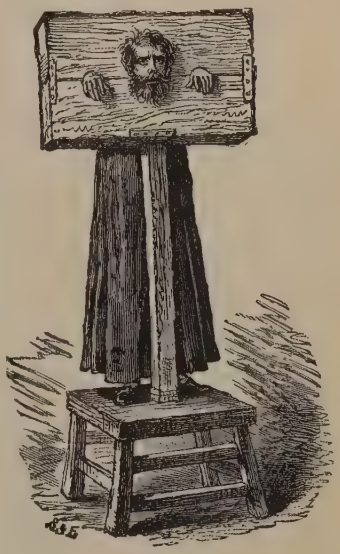
SEAL OF THE CITY

In 1678 New York was granted the exclusive right to bolt flour and pack it for export. The flour trade soon grew to be very important. In 1694 six hundred of the nine hundred and thirty-eight buildings in the city were in one way or another connected with or dependent upon the trade in flour.

The seal of the city contains a windmill, beavers, and flour bar-

rels. This is very appropriate, for it was to secure beaver skins that the Dutch first came to Manhattan, the windmills furnished the first power, and the exclusive right to manufacture flour in the colony gave the first great impulse to the upbuilding of the city.

When one remembers that in the lower part of the city of New York lots sometimes sell for hundreds of dollars per square foot, such items as the following are of interest. In 1721 a house and lot on Wall street sold for $850, the lot being 32 by 150 feet. The same year two lots on Broadway 50 by 160 feet sold for $293.



PILLORY

The first mail route between New York and Boston was established on the first of January, 1673. There was one mail each way every month. A mounted postman carried letters, small parcels, and "divers bags" in his "portmantles." In these days of almost hourly mail between these cities it seems very strange to think of being able to send mail only once a month. While the postman was on his eastern trip there was kept in the office of the Colonial Secretary at New York a locked box in which mail was deposited for the next trip. When the postman came from Boston the mail which he brought was placed on a table at some coffee house, to be sorted over by each comer in search for his letters and parcels.

At first there were no prisons in New Amsterdam. Offenders were either confined in their own houses or at a reputable tavern. The pillory and the whipping post were in common use. The forms of punishment were often peculiar. A man who had stolen

half a dozen cabbages confessed the offence and was compelled to stand in the pillory for several days, and that "the punishment might fit the crime," he stood with cabbages on his head.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS

That the funeral customs in New Amsterdam were quite different in the early days from what they are now is clearly shown by the records of the times. The following is from a church record which gives the account of a funeral of one who had been supported by the church and was buried at its expense. Among the items of expense are the following: "Two Half Vats of good beer. 6 bottles of rum, 5 gallons of Madeira wine. Tobacco, pipes, sugar." Surely those people who fear that the world is growing worse must find some comfort in such accounts. The enemies of Dominie Bogardus declared that he was often drunk both at church and elsewhere, and it is greatly to be feared that they were right about the matter. Ministers' salaries came in part from "excise" on wine, beer, and spirits.

Deaths were announced by the tolling of the church bell. No one attended a funeral unless invited to do so. The funeral inviter, who might be the schoolmaster, or the chorister, or the bell-ringer, or the grave-digger (sometimes the same person filled all these offices), attired in a full mourning suit of black, called on all the relatives and friends of the deceased and notified them of the death, and the day and hour of the funeral. From the death of a person to the time of the funeral it was the custom to have some one, usually the intimate friends of the deceased, watch the dead body through the night. The watchers were liberally provided with food, liquor, pipes, and tobacco.

Both men and women attended the funerals, but only the men followed the corpse to the grave. A Dutch funeral was a very expensive affair. The guests were furnished with liquor and

tobacco, and the bearers were given gloves, scarfs, and mourning rings. The expense varied, of course, with the means of the family. It is said that the funeral of the first wife of Stephen Van Rensselaer cost twenty thousand dollars. All the tenants of the great estate were entertained for several days. Two thousand linen scarfs were given to those in attendance.

AMUSEMENTS

Dancing was one of the chief amusements of the early days, but only square dances were known. All dances closed at eleven o'clock. The refreshments consisted of bread and chocolate. Skating and riding were popular amusements. There were also theatres, and the following is the form with which the advertisements of theatres usually closed: "To begin at precisely Half an Hour after 6 o'clock and no person to be admitted behind the Scenes."

There were a goodly number of holidays, New Year's being the most important. Making and receiving calls was the occupation of this day. Refreshments were served at every house, the good housewives having been at work for days in preparing for the occasion. The great number of calls made, and the fact that refreshments, including liquor, were served at every house, and a refusal to partake was regarded as an offence, resulted in many a headache the following morning.

UNDER ENGLISH RULE

The change from Dutch to English rule in New York sounded the death knell of French government in America because it was the first step toward uniting all the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. They had common interests and common pursuits sufficient in extent to bind them together in opposition to the French; this, combined with the attitude of the Iroquois Confederacy, made the end certain. It might be delayed, and was, but it could not be escaped. Had the Iroquois been the allies of the French instead of their enemies, it would have been Louis XIV of France instead of Charles II of England who would have taken New Amsterdam from the Dutch.

The score or more of English colonial governors of New York was largely made up of men chosen from the destitute and unscrupulous adherents of the English court; men who obtained their appointment that they might enrich themselves at the expense of the colony. There were, however, notable exceptions to this rule.

Nicolls, the first English governor, came over with the fleet that captured New Amsterdam from the Dutch. He promised full religious liberty to all and agreed not to interfere in any way with the personal rights and liberties of any one. He ruled the city with tact and skill and became very popular with the people. He provided for a government by a mayor, aldermen, and a sheriff, instead of the officers who had governed under the Dutch. The English language was to be exclusively used in all civil affairs. The city was rechristened New York in honor of the Duke of York. Nicolls wrote the Duke urging him to do something to promote the trade of the city, saying that it was at New York and not at Boston that the commerce of America must centre.

Nicolls was kindly disposed and merciful. He lived in harmony with the inhabitants and at peace with the Indians. In 1666 he was succeeded by Francis Lovelace. At this time the New England colonies had a population of forty thousand, while New York had only five or six thousand. Lovelace pursued the same general policy that Nicolls had done and the colony prospered under his administration. It was while he was governor that the post route between New York and Boston was established. Lovelace established a merchants' exchange near where Exchange street crosses Broad street. Meetings were held there every Friday morning. It was during the administration of Lovelace that the Dutch recaptured New York. They held it only about a year, it being restored to the English when peace was declared between England and Holland.

Upon the restoration of the English rule in New York Sir Edmond Andros was appointed governor. He did much for the betterment of the city. He gave the inhabitants the sole right to bolt and export flour, that business being forbidden in all other parts of the colony. This contributed much to the rapid growth of the city. Andros also did much to make New York a clean town. He obliged every householder to put his refuse in barrels so that it could be carted away. He caused public wells to be sunk. This was the beginning of a public water supply for the city. He ordered old buildings to be torn down and new streets to be laid out and graded. Tanners were compelled to move beyond the city limits. He was finally recalled on account of the great number of complaints that were made against him because he would not allow the people to elect an assembly which should take part in the government of the colony, but in this matter Andros was merely obeying the instructions of his royal master, the Duke of York.

Andros was followed in 1682 by Thomas Dongan, the best and ablest of all the royal governors. He granted the colonists the long desired and often asked for privilege of choosing a General Assembly to act with the Governor and Council in administering

the government. This Assembly included the governor with ten councilors of his own choosing, and eighteen representatives chosen by the people. It met for the first time on the 17th of October, 1683. Brodhead declares this meeting to be "a memorable day in the history of New York." It was the first time that the people had had any voice in the government. This assembly passed fourteen acts,

BLOCK-HOUSE AND CITY GATE IN 1674

all of which were approved by the governor. The most important was known as "The Charter of Liberties and Privileges." It provided that the colony should be governed by a Governor, a Council, and a General Assembly elected by the people, and that there should be a meeting of the Assembly at least as often as once in three years; that the members of the Assembly should be elected by a majority vote; that there should be entire freedom of conscience and religion; that no taxes should be laid for any purpose whatever but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and assembly.

This charter was approved by the Duke, but before it was delivered the King died, and the Duke succeeded to the throne; his ideas as to how the colony should be governed materially changed, so the charter was never delivered, though the colony was governed in accordance with its provisions for several years.

The first Assembly divided the colony into the following twelve counties: New York, Westchester, Ulster, Albany, Dutchess,

A DUTCH COTTAGE IN 1679

Orange, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Duke, and Cornwall. Nearly all these names refer to some member of the Stuart family. Kings and Queens were named for Charles II and his Queen Mary; Dutchess was named in honor of the wife of the Duke of York, afterwards James II; New York, Albany, and Ulster represented King James's title in English, Irish, and Scotch peerages; Orange was named in honor of the Prince of Orange.

Duke County was made up of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and

other territory not now belonging to the State of New York. Cornwall was also made up of territory now belonging to other states. The boundaries of many of the other counties were not the same then as now.

Dongan cultivated friendly relations with the Iroquois and made them defenders of the northern frontier. In April, 1686, Dongan granted the city of New York a charter which is still the basis of its civic rights.

When James became king he resolved to make himself the absolute master of the colonies. He united New York and New Jersey, recalled Dongan, and put all the colonies under Andros, who had a short rule, as William of Orange soon came to the throne. The last of the Stuarts became an exile, and Andros was cast into jail in Boston.

JACOB LEISLER

It is impossible in this little volume to give a sketch of all the English colonial governors of New York, many of whom were men of no importance, whose rule was not marked by any events of far-reaching consequence. There were, however, some occurrences that every one should know about. Among these the brief rule of Leisler and his subsequent execution are of much interest. There had been a bitter strife in Great Britain between the Catholics and the Protestants, and to a considerable extent the feeling had extended to the colonies. James II was suspected of being favorable to the Catholic cause, and the feeling against him became so strong that he finally fled to France, and William and Mary, who favored the Protestants, succeeded to the throne. When the news of this change of rulers reached the colonies the people of New England seized their governor and sent him back to England. The Governor of New York fled. Nicholson, the Lieutenant Governor, and the Council claimed that they should administer the government until the arrival of the new governor, and in this they were supported by

all the former adherents of Governor Dongan, and most of the wealthier and better educated people; but those of more extreme views, particularly those who had been opposed to the existing administration, claimed that the succession of William and Mary deposed all who were in power at that time, and that the people themselves must administer the government until the new governor came. All agreed that William and Mary were the lawful sovereigns, but those who held that the people were to govern themselves until the arrival of a governor sent out from Great Britain constituted a large majority of the inhabitants.

Colonel Henry Sloughter was appointed governor in January, 1689, but most unfortunately did not arrive in this country until the 19th of March, 1691, leaving the colony in strife and turmoil for more than two years. Those who held that the people should rule until the arrival of the new governor made Jacob Leisler their leader. He was a merchant with large wealth for those times, well thought of, and through his marriage related to some of the most prominent families of the colony. He had come to this country thirty years before, was of German birth, honest, energetic, and possessed great force of character, though lacking in education, tact, and culture. He was, however, the popular hero of the hour.

On the 2d of June, 1689, Leisler's party took possession of the fort, declaring their intention of holding it until the arrival of Governor Sloughter. This act led to the departure of Nicholson and the breaking up of his party. This, together with the non-arrival of Sloughter, made some form of organized government necessary, so a Committee of Safety, which represented the greater part of the community, conferred upon Leisler absolute power to carry on the government in accordance with his best judgment, and in the interest of William and Mary. On the 16th of August the Committee of Safety issued to Leisler a commission as commander-in-chief. It also ordered a popular election for the purpose of choosing a mayor, sheriff, clerk, and members of the common council to carry on the

government of the city. The election took place in October. All the persons chosen were friends and adherents of Leisler.

Though Leisler and his friends were in complete control there were two parties, and the feeling between them grew more and more bitter. The two factions were known as the "aristocratic" and the "popular" parties. Leisler spoke of his opponents as "grandees," "Papists," and "King James's men." The opposing party applied equally obnoxious names to the supporters of Leisler. The bitterness that existed did not find vent in words alone; many unfortunate actions took place. Leisler drove some of his most bitter enemies out of the colony.

A new phase of the question soon arose. In December, 1689, a messenger from the English government appeared in Boston bearing a communication addressed as follows: "To Francis Nicholson, Esq., or in his absence to such as, for the time being, takes care for preserving the peace and administering the laws in his Majesty's province of New York." Both of the parties in the province claimed to be the party addressed, but the messenger delivered the missive to Leisler, who under its provisions assumed the title of Lieutenant Governor. His opponents started a riot in the streets and attempted to seize the person of Leisler, but were prevented by his friends.

Leisler, under the sanction of his new title, ordered the arrest of Nicholls, Bayard, and others on the charge of having committed high misdemeanors against his majesty's authority in the colony. Bayard and Nicholls were arrested and thrown into prison, but the others escaped. On the 18th of January, 1690, Leisler called a Court of Oyer and Terminer to try these men for treason. Bayard was in prison, sick, and in danger of death, and so wrote a humble petition to Leisler, addressing him as "Lieutenant Governor," promising to make no future trouble, and humbly pleading for pardon and release. Because of such pleas these two men were not brought to trial, but they were refused bail and kept in confinement until the arrival of

the new governor, a period of more than a year. Leisler continued to issue warrants for the arrest of those whom he declared to be "malcontents," and soon there was no one in the colony who dared to oppose him.

All things seemed to conspire to intensify the dissensions among the colonists. Not only did the new governor delay his arrival for more than two years, but when he left England with a fleet and troops he was so hindered in his passage that Major Richard Ingoldsby, who came as Lieutenant Governor, reached the city nearly two months before Sloughter arrived.

Leisler refused to surrender the government to Ingoldsby because the latter had nothing to show that he was in authority, all the papers relating to appointments being in the vessel with Sloughter. This led to fresh dissensions, and when Sloughter finally arrived Leisler insisted upon the observance of unreasonable technicalities and precautions before he would surrender the command.

Governor Sloughter ordered the arrest of Leisler and eleven of his chief adherents. Bayard and Nicholls, who had been so long imprisoned, were made members of the Governor's Council.

Leisler and his son-in-law were tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. The Governor was reluctant to approve the sentence and considered the question of referring the matter to the home government, but Bayard and others who had suffered so much would not be satisfied with anything less than the death of Leisler. The Council urged the Governor to carry the sentence into effect, and the Assembly by a majority vote joined in the recommendation of the Council. The pressure brought to bear upon the Governor was very great and he finally signed the death warrants of Leisler and his son-in-law Milborne. It has been said that the enemies of Leisler made the Governor drunk and obtained his signature to the warrants while he was in that condition, but this statement may be doubted, though the Governor was a very intemperate man.

The principal charges against Leisler and his friends were that

they disrupted Nicholson's Council, imprisoned many innocent people, forced others to fly from the colony, seized and forfeited the goods of their opponents, levied taxes without authority, raised forces and unlawfully held the fort against Ingoldsby, and refused to surrender to Sloughter.

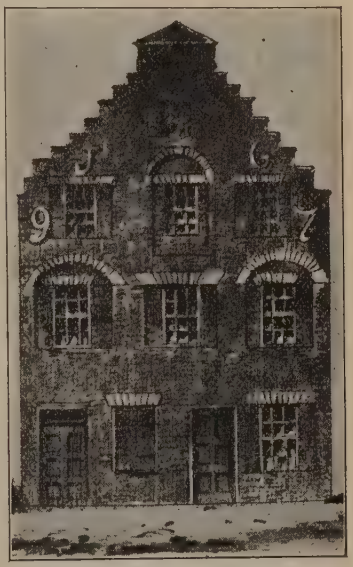
While Leisler had been the source of a great deal of trouble and had dealt very severely with his enemies, there is nothing in the history of the case to show that he was deserving of death and it is probable that the home government took this view, as only four years later the British parliament reversed the attainder for treason and restored Leisler's property to his heirs. Leisler and Milborne were the only persons ever executed within the territory of the state of New York for a political offence.

IN 1697

During the administration of Governor Fletcher some progress was made in the development of the city, as is indicated by the following ordinances. In November, 1697, this enactment was made: "The Board taking into consideration the great inconveniency that attends this city, being a trading place, for want of having lights in the dark time of the moon in the winter season, it is therefore ordered that all and every of the housekeepers within this city shall put out lights in the windows fronting the respective streets of the city, between this and the 25th of March next, in the following manner: Every seventh house, in all the streets, shall, in the dark time of the moon, cause a lantern and candle to be hung out on a pole—the charge to be defrayed equally by the inhabitants of the said seven houses." About the same time the Board arranged for the appointment of "four good honest inhabitants of the city, whose duty it shall be to watch in the night from the hour of nine in the evening till break of day, until the 25th of March next; and to go round the city each hour of the night, with bell, and there to proclaim the season of the weather and the hour of the night." It seems

very strange now to think that the time was when four men were sufficient to guard the city of New York, or that it would seem satisfactory to light it with lanterns suspended in front of the houses.

In 1730, during the administration of Governor Montgomery, a stage route was established between New York and Philadelphia, trips being made once a fortnight. The same year the first free library was established in the city. It was known as the "Corporation Library." It was soon neglected and later became a part of the "Society Library" which was established in 1754.



OLD DUTCH HOUSE ON PEARL STREET, 1697

JOHN PETER ZENGER

The first number of *The New York Gazette,* the first paper published in New York, was issued in October, 1725. Only four other papers were then in existence in the colonies, three in Massachusetts and one in Philadelphia. The *Gazette,* which supported the court party, was published by William Bradford, the earliest printer in the colonies. Among his apprentices was John Zenger, who afterward established *The New York Weekly Journal.*

Rip Van Dam was the acting Governor, previous to the arrival of William Cosby, who was governor from 1732 to 1736. There was a bitter quarrel over the matter of Van Dam's salary, one half of which was claimed by Cosby. This quarrel was carried into the public press and the controversy became very bitter.

Cosby was another of the destitute and unscrupulous adherents of the English Court who had obtained an appointment that he might enrich himself at the expense of the people of the colony. The province was poor, and Cosby was extravagant, and therefore at odds with the colonists almost from the first, so that when the quarrel arose between him and Van Dam the mass of the people were opposed to the Governor.

Zenger opposed Cosby in the *Journal,* and naturally aroused the ire of the Governor, who was narrow and ignorant, and hated all who opposed any of his ideas. He persecuted all who differed with him to such an extent that the *Journal* made many bitter and sarcastic attacks on his administration. Zenger was not an educated man, and many of the articles in his paper were written by others, being written in the strong, forceful, and cultivated style of men of training and experience. These articles were stinging, and the arguments were unanswerable. The Council, in obedience to Cosby's orders, directed that several of the most offensive numbers of Zenger's paper should be burned by the common hangman. The articles were declared to be "libelous and seditious." Zenger was arrested and imprisoned. Bail was fixed at so enormous a sum that it was not possible for Zenger to secure it, so he had to remain in jail till the time of his trial. As Zenger was not the only, nor even the chief offender, those who had written the most offensive articles felt in honor bound to defend him and they did this loyally. The counsel secured for him were among the most eminent lawyers in the city. They questioned the validity of the appointment of the judges before whom the case was to come. For this act the Chief Justice ordered Zenger's lawyers to be expelled from the New York bar and refused to hear them in their own defence. This act on the part of the Chief Justice was believed to be a part of a conspiracy to crush Zenger and the opposition which he represented. No lawyer could be found in New York who dared to undertake Zenger's defence. His opponents believed that the matter was in their own

hands to be dealt with as they saw fit. They did not expect that any defence would be made for Zenger and were therefore greatly surprised on the day of the trial to see Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, an aged man, but one of the most eminent lawyers in the country, rise to speak for the defence. He had been secretly retained by Zenger's friends. No question was raised as to the authorship of the offending articles. Hamilton offered as defence to prove that the articles stated the truth. The judges refused to hear him on the question of libel and held that if the articles were true that would constitute no defence. Up to this time it had been held that "The greater the truth the greater the libel."

The address of Hamilton on this occasion was regarded as being without an equal. He concluded a long address in these words: "The question before the court and you, gentlemen of the jury, is not one of small nor private concern; it is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, which you are now trying. No! It may in its consequences affect every freeman that lives under a British government on the main of America. It is the best cause, it is the cause of liberty! And I make no doubt but your upright conduct to-day will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow citizens; but every one who prefers freedom to slavery will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the attempts of tyranny and by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right—the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power (in these parts of the world at least) by speaking and writing the truth."

The attorney-general demanded the conviction of Zenger and the Chief Justice charged the jury that they must find him guilty, but the plea of Hamilton that they were the judges of the law as well as of the fact had its effect and they brought in a verdict of "not guilty." It is said that such a scene as that which followed has

never since been witnessed in a New York court room. The whole audience broke out into loud and long-continued cheering. Hamilton was almost idolized. A fine entertainment was given in his honor. When he left for his home he was accompanied by great crowds and as he embarked he was saluted with the firing of cannon. The verdict in the Zenger case established, not in New York alone, but in the whole country, the liberty of the press. It was one of the most important events in the history of the state, not only because it established the freedom of the press, but also because it marked the dawning of a revolutionary spirit among the people.

THE NEGRO PLOT

In 1741, during the administration of Lieutenant Governor Clarke, who succeeded Cosby, occurred what has been known as the "Negro Plot." These seem to have been the facts. A certain John Hughson kept a low negro groggery and was suspected of being a receiver of stolen goods. Mary Burton, a servant girl of his, had hinted to a neighbor that Hughson was in the habit of receiving stolen goods from negroes. This led to the arrest of Hughson and the detention of the servant girl as a witness. She was promised a reward for appearing against Hughson. Two negroes were arrested for stealing and they and Hughson were committed for trial. On the day that they were committed the Governor's house in the fort was discovered to be on fire, and it and the chapel and other buildings were destroyed. Within two weeks there were five other fires, but no proof of incendiarism, yet that number of fires in so small a town, and within so short a time, caused much comment. Other fires followed and the excitement became intense. Many people left the city, taking their property with them. On the 11th of April the Common Council offered a reward of one hundred pounds for the discovery of the incendiaries, with full pardon for any guilty person who might testify against his guilty associates. The grand jury met on the 21st of April. The servant girl, Mary

Burton, on being brought before it testified that certain negroes used to meet at Hughson's and talk of burning first the fort and then the whole town, and they indulged in much other wild talk about killing all the whites and ruling the city. Peggy Salinburgh, a disreputable inmate of Hughson's place, was also called before the grand jury but she denied any knowledge of a plot. She was convicted of receiving stolen goods, after which she asked to be reëxamined and then testified that she had heard certain negroes, whom she named, swear that they would burn the fort, steal and rob, and bring the stolen goods to a hotel keeper by the name of Romme. All the negroes named by her were arrested, and all declared their innocence. Later they began to accuse each other, hoping in that way to save themselves. Hughson, his wife, and the woman Peggy, all whites, were indicted charged with a conspiracy to burn the town. The principal witness against them was Mary Burton. They were all convicted and were hanged on the 12th of June.

The excitement grew till no story was too wild to be believed. The people seemed to be in much the same mental condition as were those in Salem at the time of the witchcraft mania. Before the affair was over one hundred and fifty-four negroes were imprisoned, fourteen were burned at the stake, eighteen hanged and seventy-one transported. Twenty-one white persons were arrested, of whom four were hanged. The last execution was that of Ury, a Catholic priest who had been engaged in teaching school. Of all those who were executed it may be doubted if a single one was guilty of the crime charged. The whole affair makes a very dark page in the history of the city.

SLAVERY IN NEW YORK

Slavery existed in New York at a very early day, certainly as early as 1628. There was a slave market at the foot of Wall street in 1709. About 1720 slaves were scarce in the city and sold at from £40 to £75 each. A number of African slaves were imported

at different times. There were brought into the city from Africa one hundred and sixty-seven slaves in 1702, five hundred and seventeen in 1718, one hundred and ninety-three in 1721, one hundred and thirteen in 1725, and one hundred and eighty in 1726. Each year additional slaves were imported. When we recall the fact that the population of New York was only about seven thousand in 1723, it becomes apparent that the slaves constituted a considerable proportion of the inhabitants.

Slavery was by no means confined to negroes. People sold themselves for a term of years, during which time they were practically slaves. If such persons ran away they were advertised just as other slaves were. Men and women frequently sold themselves for a term of years in order to secure their passage to this country. Negroes were told that they had no souls. Their punishments were frequently barbarous in the extreme. Some were burned at the stake, others broken on the wheel, or hung alive in chains, suffering a horrible death by slow torture. All this happened in our great state less than two hundred years ago. As late as 1750 such advertisements as the following were common in the newspapers of New York City:

"A Likely Negro Boy about 14 years of Age, Country born, can speak Dutch or English, to be sold."

"Run away on the fourth of February last, from Robert Livingston, a tall likely Negro Wench, named Nell, about 36 years of age."

"Wanted a good Negro Man, that understands farming; either to hire or to buy."

"To be sold a likely Negro Girl, about 12 years of age."

"A likely Irish Servant Woman's time, of about six years, to be disposed of."

"An English Servant Man's Time, of about Five Years, to be disposed of."

"To be sold at Publick Vendue a number of likely Negro Slaves, lately imported in the Sloop Wolf directly from Africa."

"Just imported from Liverpool, to be sold on board the snow, William Beekman, Master, Several White Servants."

"Just arrived from Great Britain, and are to be sold on board the Ship Alice and Elizabeth, Capt. Faire, commander, several likely Welsh and English serving men, most of them tradesmen."

Notices like the following were very common:

"A servant man named Hugh Allen, is run away from his master, John Blake of New York. He is a tall, slender man, and much given to talk. He pretends to be a Doctor, and to let blood. He wears a light coloured blew coat, and is an Irish man. Whoever shall take up said servant and bring him to his Master, or secure him, and give Notice, so that his Master may have him again, shall have Twenty Shillings Reward, and all reasonable Charges."

MAP SHOWING MADE LAND ON LOWER MANHATTAN ISLAND

POINTS OF HISTORIC INTEREST IN OLD NEW YORK

WALL STREET

To-day this name is synonymous with that of speculation and great financial transactions. It is one of the famous streets of the world, but its name has no relation to the business carried on in it.

SECTION OF CITY WALL BUILT IN 1653

In 1653, during the reign of Stuyvesant, when the Dutch were afraid of an attack from the north, either by the Indians or by the English from the New England colonies, a wall was built across the island to the north of the city. It passed through what is now Wall street, thence to the Hudson River through the place where Trinity church now stands. The wall was a palisade made of posts twelve feet in length and six inches in diameter; one end was sharpened and the other set in the ground three feet deep. These posts were set so close that they touched each other. Split rails were spiked to the posts to strengthen the palisade. Within the palisade was a sloping breastwork of earth four feet high, three feet wide at the top and four feet at the bottom.

There were several semicircular bastions along the line of the

wall, one at East River, projecting into the river so that the small cannon mounted on it could command the river both up and down the stream. There was another bastion near what is now Hanover street, a third just west of William street, another where the sub-treasury building stands, and still another just east of Broadway.

FEDERAL HALL

There was a gate in the wall near the East River shore, and another at Broadway.

The wall was never used as a means of defence. When it was torn down the street that was laid out where the wall had been was not regarded as being one of much consequence, but its importance was greatly increased when the new City Hall was erected upon it, opposite Broad street. The erection of Trinity church at the head of this street added greatly to its attractiveness. The first slave market in the city was at the foot of Wall street. The first library of the city had its home in the City Hall. The famous Zenger trial was held there. It was the City Hall, refurnished and improved,

that was renamed Federal Hall, and it was there that Washington took the oath of office as President of the United States. It was in this building that Congress held its sessions as long as New York remained the capital of the nation.

In 1770 a statue in honor of William Pitt was erected in Wall street, near the intersection of William.

The Bank of New York, the first banking institution established

THE JUMEL MANSION, 161ST STREET

in the city, was located in Wall street at the corner of William. The next five banks established in New York were also located in Wall street.

THE JUMEL MANSION

In 1758 Roger Morris erected a mansion for his wife, who was the daughter of Frederick Philipse, the second lord of Philipse Manor. She was the beautiful and cultured Mary Philipse who tradition says declined the hand of Washington to marry Morris,

an aide-de-camp to Braddock. Morris and his wife lived in this mansion till the beginning of the Revolution, when, having sided with the royalists, their estate was confiscated and the family went to England.

This famous old mansion is on 161st street near Edgecombe Road. Washington made this house his headquarters after his retreat from Long Island, and when he was compelled to abandon the city, General Knyphausen, the Hessian, occupied it as his headquarters.

STATUE TO NATHAN HALE

It was at this house that the unfortunate Hale received his final instructions before starting on his fatal errand, and here that Washington and his cabinet were guests in 1790.

For some time after the Revolution the title of the property was in dispute, but in 1810 John Jacob Astor bought the claims of the Morris heirs. A little later the house was sold to Stephen Jumel, an adventurous Frenchman who settled in New York and became one of its leading merchants. He married a beautiful New England girl and made the Morris mansion his home. Jerome Bonaparte was a frequent guest of the Jumels, and Louis Philippe, Lafayette, Talleyrand, and Louis Napoleon were entertained by them.

Jumel died in 1832, and about a year later his widow married Aaron Burr. The couple did not live happily together. Burr squandered his wife's estate and when she asked for an accounting coolly told her that that was not her affair, that her husband could manage her estate. The couple separated within a year from the time of their marriage, and for thirty-one years after Mrs. Jumel

lived in the old mansion, spending the closing years of her life as a miser and a recluse.

During the time that John Jacob Astor owned the place it is said that his friend and secretary, Fitz-Greene Halleck, lived with him and wrote his famous poem "Marco Bozzaris" in this historic old mansion. The house, which has now most properly become public property, has not greatly changed since the time it had for its guests Washington and many other famous men.

GOLDEN HILL

It was at Golden Hill, in John street, near William, that the first blood of the Revolution was shed. Ever since the passage of the Stamp Act there had been bitter feeling between the British soldiers and the Sons of Liberty. The Liberty pole on the Common was made the rallying point of the patriots, and because of this it was offensive to the soldiers and was cut down by them. Twice it was replaced by the Sons of Liberty, and twice cut down again by the soldiers. The fourth pole was fastened with iron braces, and kept its place till the night of the 16th of January, 1770, when a party of soldiers not only cut it down for the fourth time, but cut it in pieces, and piled the fragments in front of the headquarters of the Sons of Liberty. This provoked the most intense anger. Two days later there was a collision on Golden Hill and half a dozen on each side were wounded; the next day the contest was renewed and a sailor was killed by the soldiers. These two days' fighting constitute what is known as the battle of Golden Hill. This occurred six weeks before the massacre in King street, Boston, and five years before the Battle of Lexington, so New York has reason for the claim made that in her streets was shed the first blood in the cause of freedom.

THE BOWERY

Bowery, spelled bouwerie, is a Dutch word for farm. The road that led through the various farms on lower Manhattan Island was

known as Bouwerie Lane and in time became the street we now call the Bowery. Along this road grew up a little hamlet, known as the Bowery. There was at this place a famous tavern which was a favorite resort. It was here, in 1690, that the Commissioners from the New England colonies met with those representing New York to consider plans for the invasion of Canada.

For many years the Bowery was the only road leading out from the little town clustered about Fort Amsterdam.

The largest of the bouweries belonged to Governor Stuyvesant; and it was on the Bowery road that he had his country home. It was along this road that the post-rider made his way in carrying the first mail from New York to Boston.

During the Revolution a large part of the British army in New York was encamped along the Bowery, and the drinking places and resorts for low grade entertainments that were established there at that time drove the more fashionable people and the better class of business to other parts of the city, and did much to determine the future character of the street.

CITY HALL

The new City Hall on the corner of Wall and Nassau streets, completed in 1700, was a very fine building for the time. It contained the only prison in the city till 1760, so it must have been here that Zenger was confined during the imprisonment preceding his trial for libel. It was here that the Stamp Act congress assembled; here that the chief men of the town met and resolved that they would not pay the tax on tea; here that the Sons of Liberty came and confiscated the arms and ammunition stored in one of the rooms, after they had heard the news from Concord and Lexington. It was from the balcony of the City Hall that the Declaration of Independence was read, by order of Congress. It was on the site of this famous City Hall that the United States Sub-Treasury building was erected.

TRINITY CHURCH

A Royal grant of land was given to Trinity in 1697, and the first church erected upon it was occupied in 1698. This church was destroyed by the great fire of 1776, and was rebuilt in 1778. The present edifice was erected in 1846. In 1703 the church came into the possession of what was known as the "King's Farm" which has since been a source of princely revenue to Trinity. Many churches and parishes owe their existence to the funds derived from this source. King's College, now Columbia University, owes its organization to the same means. All the income from the great estate, which in the early days was the Annetje Jans farm, is used for the support of Trinity, and several other churches in the city; in aiding weak churches in other places; in maintaining hospitals; in providing scholarships at Trinity College in Hartford, Conn., and for many other beneficent purposes.

TRINITY CHURCH

William Vesey, in whose honor Vesey street was named, was the first rector of Trinity and served in that capacity for nearly fifty years. It is quite remarkable that in the more than two hundred years of its existence Trinity has had only nine rectors.

In Trinity Churchyard are the remains of many noted men. Here lie William Bradford, editor of the first newspaper in New York; Sir Henry Moore, Sir Danvers Osborne, and James DeLancey, colonial governors; Robert Livingston; Michael Cresap, a noted

Indian fighter; Alexander Hamilton and Albert Gallatin, famous Secretaries of the Treasury; the Earl of Sterling; John Iamb, and Marius Willett, the founders and leaders of the Sons of Liberty; Philip Livingston and Robert Lewis, signers of the Declaration of Independence; Robert Fulton; General Phil. Kearney; Charlotte Temple; James Lawrence, and many others but little less noted.

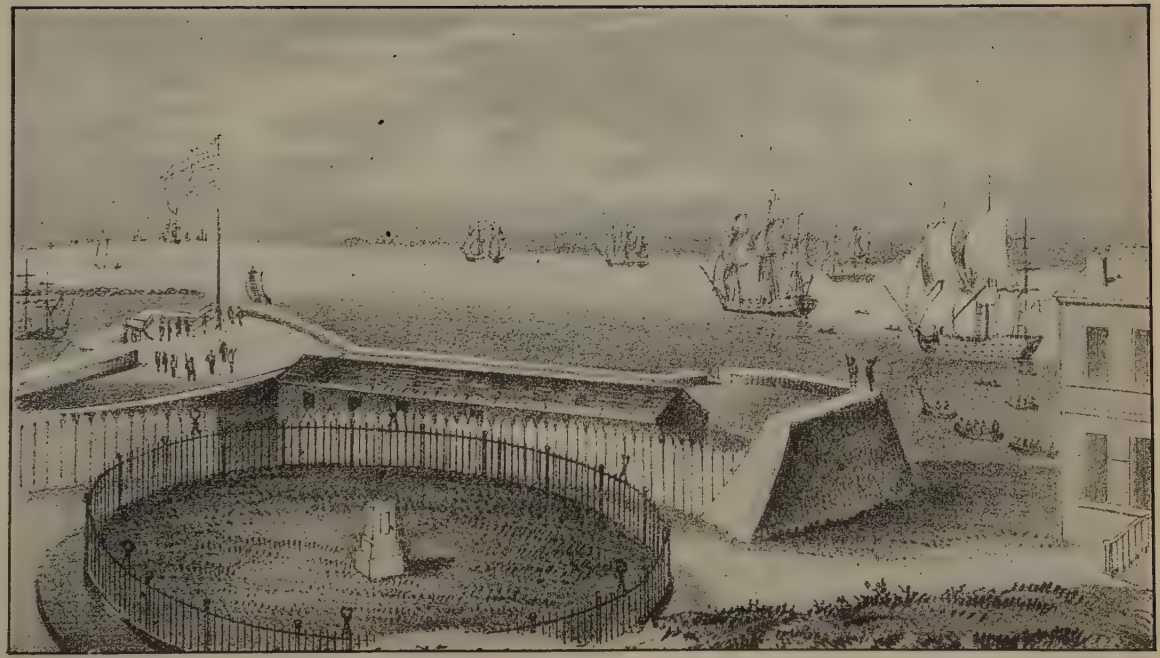
THE BATTERY

When the English came into the possession of the city they proceeded to strengthen the fort by the erection of batteries. In course of time both the fort and the associated batteries fell into disuse, and when they were finally removed, a considerable portion of the territory was made into a park which is still known as the Battery. It was here that Lafayette landed on his visit to this country in 1824. It was here, in Castle Garden, that a grand reception was given him. It was here that Clay and Webster were heard; here that Jackson and other Presidents were received; here that Kossuth was welcomed, and Jenny Lind sang; here that Mario, Grisi, and many others were heard. But with the opening of the Academy of Music in Fourteenth street in 1854 the day of Castle Garden as the home of the opera came to an end. The following year it became a landing place for immigrants and continued to be used for that purpose till 1890, since which time it has been under the jurisdiction of the department of public parks and used as the home of the New York Aquarium.

In former years the Battery Park had been the strolling place of Generals Howe and Clinton; of Washington, Arnold, and André; of Jefferson, Burr, and Hamilton; of Jerome Bonaparte, and Louis Philippe; of Irving, Cooper, Halleck, Drake, Willis, and Morris.

BOWLING GREEN

A small park at the foot of Broadway that has always been used for public purposes is known as Bowling Green. When Fort Am-



BOWLING GREEN AFTER THE REVOLUTION

sterdam was built the open space to the north of it was left for a public common, then known as "The Plaine." It is probable that it was on or near this spot that Minuit met with the Indians to bargain for Manhattan Island. This little park in the early days was the village green and the children's playground. It was here that Governor Kieft established two annual fairs, one held in October and the other in November. It was here that the "May-Day" festivals were held.

After a time this plot of ground came to be known as "The Parade." In 1732 the city fathers leased it to John Chambers, Peter Bayard, and Peter Jay, who prepared it for playing the game of bowls, whence the more modern name of the park.

On the 21st of August, 1770, a leaden statue of George the Third was erected in the centre of Bowling Green. Just at the breaking out of the Revolution the statue was torn down and sent to Litchfield, Connecticut, where the wife and daughter of Governor Wolcott made forty-two thousand bullets from it.

FRAUNCES' TAVERN

This historic building, one of the oldest in the city, is at the corner of Pearl and Broad streets. It was built in 1730 by Stephen DeLancey, a Huguenot nobleman who fled from France. The firm of DeLancey, Robinson, and Company occupied the old mansion as a store from 1757 to 1761. In January, 1762, the property passed into the hands of Samuel Fraunces, a West Indian, who used it as a tavern. It was for many years the most popular place in the city, the Delmonico of its time.

It was the favorite meeting place of "The Moot," a club composed mainly of lawyers, and which included in its membership such names as Livingston, Jay, DeLancey, and Morris. Here also met the "Social Club" having among its members John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, Robert Livingston, Morgan Lewis, and Gulian Verplanck. It was at Fraunces' tavern that the Board of Trade of New

York City was organized. The British held dancing assemblies there during their occupancy of the city. It was there that Governor Clinton gave a dinner to Washington and other noted men when the Americans entered the city after it was evacuated by the British.

From a photograph by E. Bierstadt, N. Y.

LONG ROOM—FRAUNCES' TAVERN

It was there that Washington, ten days later, at noon on the 4th of December, 1783, in the famous "Long Room" bade farewell to his associates in the army.

THE BEEKMAN HOUSE

A house of much historic interest formerly stood on Fifty-first street. At the time of the Revolution it was occupied by James Beekman. Being a loyalist Beekman fled when Washington entered the city after the Battle of Long Island. When Sir William Howe was in New York he made this house his headquarters. It was here that André received his final instructions before going to meet

Arnold; here that Nathan Hale was tried and condemned to be hanged. When Washington was President, and living in New York, he often stopped at this house while driving about the city.

THE PHILIPSE MANOR HOUSE

Although this house was not in the city of New York its owner and occupant was a part of the city life, and active in all the affairs that had to do with the city's welfare. The older part of the

THE PHILIPSE MANOR HOUSE

house was built in 1682, and the newer part in 1745. The building as a whole is a curious mixture of Dutch and English architecture. It was built by Frederick Philipse, who came to this country a penniless youth of high birth in the time of Stuyvesant. He engaged in the fur trade and became the richest man in the colony. His property, together with that of many other wealthy loyalists, was confiscated after the Revolution.

The beautiful Mary Philipse, with whom it is said Washington was deeply in love, lived at the Philipse Manor House. In 1868 the

city of Yonkers bought the Manor House and converted it into a City Hall.

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL

St. George's Chapel stood on the corner of Cliff and Beekman streets and was for many reasons a structure of much interest. It was erected as a chapel by Trinity Church but later became a separate organization. The demands of business led to its removal in 1868 and a new building was erected in Sixteenth street. The lot on which the old church stood was purchased in 1748 for $500. It is probably worth more than a million dollars now. The first subscription for the church was made by Sir Peter Warren who gave £100 and asked that a pew be reserved for himself and family in perpetuity. The installation services were held on the 1st of July, 1752. St. George's was burned in January, 1814, but was rebuilt on the same walls. It is said that Washington frequently attended service here during the early part of the Revolution. Among the members of St. George's were the Schuylers, Livingstons, Beekmans, Van Rensselaers, Van Courtlandts, Reades, Moores and other famous families.

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL

EARLY SCHOOLS

Something has already been said of education under the Dutch and that upon the coming of the English interest in education lan-

FORT GEORGE AND CITY OF NEW YORK IN 1740

guished. It was not until a considerable time after the close of the Revolution that much interest was manifested in public education. In 1805 a society was formed which in 1808 took the name of "Free School Society of the City of New York." The first building which they erected was dedicated on the 11th of December, 1809. The dedicatory address was given by De Witt Clinton, who said

FIRST FREE SCHOOL BUILDING IN NEW YORK

the purpose of the society was not "the founding of a single academy, but the establishment of schools." By 1825 the society had erected six school buildings. The first school building was two stories in height, built of brick, and would accommodate six hundred and fifty pupils.

THE MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH

This church was situated on Nassau street, between Cedar and Liberty streets. It was finished in 1731, and was in the fullest sense a Dutch church. The English language was not used in preaching in it till 1764. The church would seat about twelve hundred people, and its congregation was the largest in the city. This church was for a long time regarded as one of the finest buildings in the city.

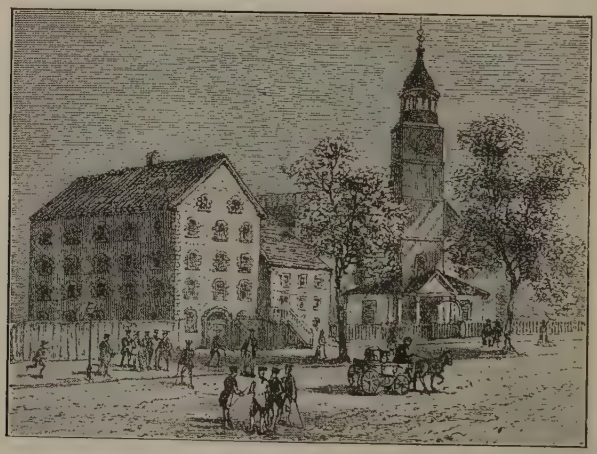
During the Revolution it was used as a military prison. It had to be thoroughly repaired afterwards and was not reopened for service after the Revolution till 1790. In 1845 it was leased to the United States Government, and used as a postoffice for thirty years.

OLD POSTOFFICE, FORMERLY MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH

THE OLD SUGAR HOUSE

The Old Sugar House in Liberty street was used as a prison during the Revolution. More than eight hundred of the patriots were confined there at one time. They had almost no bedding and absolutely no fire, during one of the coldest winters ever known in the city, so cold that for forty days the Hudson River was frozen over between Cortlandt street and the New Jersey shore, as far

down as Staten Island. There were no windows in the building, and the food furnished was poor and insufficient, "a loaf of bread, a quart of peas, half a pint of rice, and one and a half pounds of pork for six days." Many died of want.



OLD SUGAR HOUSE IN LIBERTY STREET

NEW YORK IN THE REVOLUTION

After the Battle of Long Island, Washington transferred his army to New York. Putnam, with four thousand men, was stationed at the south end of the city, while Washington with the remainder of his forces was farther north. Howe fully expected to capture the American army after the Battle of Long Island and was greatly chagrined at its escape. However, he believed that the war was practically over, and thought it a favorable time to offer to treat for peace. Congress appointed a committee to meet him, but as he had no authority to offer any terms that the Americans could consider hostilities were resumed.

On the 15th of September, Sir Henry Clinton with four thousand men landed at Kip's Bay, about where Thirty-fifth street now is. This movement threatened the line of retreat open to the Americans, so Washington at once withdrew to Harlem Heights and ordered Putnam to join him without delay. There was great danger that Putnam would be cut off, as the very flower of the British army was engaged in a movement with that end in view.

When the British reached the point where the Grand Central station now is, Howe, Clinton, Tryon, and other British officers, were invited to lunch with Mrs. Mary Lindley Murray. She entertained them charmingly, serving them with delicate refreshments and fine wine. The wit and repartee of Mrs. Murray were so appreciated by the British officers that they spent two hours at her house. It was this delay that saved Putnam and his army. Within a very short time after he had passed up the Bloomingdale road to join Washington, the British had established their lines so

as to cut off any force that might be below Thirty-fourth street. The following day the stubbornly contested battle of Harlem Heights was fought.

The Murray house stood near where Grand Central station is now and gave the name of Murray Hill to that locality.

Considerable space might be given to the movement of troops in and about New York, but it is enough for our purpose to say

FERRY HOUSE, 1746, FULTON STREET, BROOKLYN

that after the battle of Harlem Heights, Washington withdrew from the city, and it remained in the hands of the British till the close of the war. For seven long years it was occupied by the enemy. No other city suffered during the Revolution as did New York, which lost half its population and all its commerce. More than one-fourth of the city was burned, and no attempt was made to repair the loss. Its churches were used as prisons. The pews and pulpit were taken from the Middle Dutch Church, and three thousand prisoners were confined there. The North Dutch, the Brick, the Huguenot, and the Lutheran churches were used for the same purpose. Three

great sugar houses were also used as prisons. The treatment to which the prisoners were subjected is an indelible stain upon the British administration at that time. Many of the prisoners died of want. No care whatever was taken of the sick. The dead were

MAP SHOWING THE TERRITORY BURNED OVER IN 1776

tumbled into a ditch, scores at a time, and so imperfectly covered that often a hand or a foot would be exposed. Life on the prison ships was even worse than in the prisons on land.

When Sir Henry Clinton succeeded Howe in command at New York he made his headquarters at the Kennedy house at the lower

end of Broadway. It was here that he and André worked out their plans for bringing about the treason of Arnold.

In 1852 the vestry of Trinity Parish erected a brown freestone monument in Trinity Churchyard in memory of the American patriots who had died in British prisons in New York during the Revolution.

NEW YORK AS THE CAPITAL OF THE NATION

The British evacuated New York at the close of the Revolution and for some time thereafter the Americans made it their capital. The first Congress assembled there on the 4th of March, 1789.

THE FRANKLIN HOUSE

At this time the city had about thirty thousand inhabitants. It bore many evidences of the struggle it had been through. Very little of the burned territory had been rebuilt. The streets were narrow, poorly paved, poorly lighted, and dirty, and in many cases very crooked. There was no sewerage system. Water was brought into the city in barrels and hogsheads and carried around the town for sale. The wharves were filthy, and dogs and pigs ran freely

ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL

through all the streets. There were two thousand slaves, and a very large pauper population. It was not a city of which a nation could be proud, nor was it a fit place for the capital of the country.

It was on the 25th of November, 1783, that the British evacuated the city. Washington had already disbanded the greater part of his army. About eight hundred men were encamped at McGowan's

GRANT'S TOMB

Pass, near the present north-eastern entrance of Central Park. Washington had his headquarters at Day's Tavern, near the corner of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue.

An incident which aroused much interest at the time occurred on the day of the evacuation. When the Americans took possession of Fort George they found that the flag-staff had been greased from top to bottom, the cleats knocked off, and the halyards carried away. The purpose, no doubt, was to prevent the raising of the American flag until the British were out of sight, but the flag was raised and a salute of thirteen guns fired from the cannon captured from the British while their vessels were still in the bay.

At Fraunces' Tavern, on the afternoon of the evacuation, there

was a public dinner which concluded with the toast, "May the remembrance of this day be a lesson to princes."

At noon on the 4th of December, Washington met the principal officers of the army at Fraunces' Tavern to take formal leave of them. Washington filled his glass with wine and said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." After the wine was drunk, Washington said, "I cannot come to each of you, but I shall feel obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand." The parting took place without a word being spoken, but tears were shed, and it was a scene long to be remembered.

WASHINGTON ARCH

The first Congress assembled in Federal Hall, April 6, 1789. After canvassing the returns George Washington was declared unanimously elected the first President of the United States.

While Washington was in New York, he made his home at first in what was known as the Franklin house on Cherry Hill (where is now the Manhattan terminus of the Brooklyn Bridge). He found this place too far out in the country to enable him readily to take part in the social life of the city, so in February, 1790, he removed to the Macomb mansion, situated at what is now 39 Broadway.

While in New York, Washington lived a very simple life. He occasionally attended the theatre in John street, and always on Sunday mornings he and his family attended service at St. Paul's.

New York ceased to be the Federal capital in August, 1790, but it still continued to be the home of many of the great leaders of the Federal party.

There are other points of interest with which the reader should be made familiar. The battlefield of Harlem Heights is now the site of Barnard College. Grant's Tomb is close at hand.

The oldest public monument in the city is that in St. Paul's Churchyard, which was erected to the memory of General Richard Montgomery, who, at the early age of thirty-seven, fell at the siege of Quebec. The Washington monument at Union Square was erected in 1856, and stands on the spot where Washington was received by the citizens of New York when he entered the city upon its evacuation by the British.

THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH IN GARDEN STREET

Washington Arch was erected at Washington Square to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence.

SOME OLD DUTCH CHURCHES

The first Dutch Church erected after the stone church built within the fort was the Old South Church on Garden street. It was completed in 1693, and cost a little less than thirty thousand

dollars of our money. This was the only Dutch house of worship in the city until the erection of the New Dutch Church on the corner of Nassau and Liberty streets. This church was begun in 1727. It was occupied for worship in 1729, but was not fully completed till 1731. The North Dutch Church was completed in 1769. During the Revolution it was used for a hospital.

NEW DUTCH CHURCH

SOME POINTS OF INTEREST

A list of points of historical interest in New York, repeating many already given, and adding some others, may serve the purpose of emphasizing the early history of the city, and also add somewhat to the clearness of the picture.

TRINITY CHURCH.—This is at the head of Wall Street. It was incorporated in 1697, and has been twice burned. The present structure was erected in 1846. The churchyard is on the site of the West India Company's garden. This garden, Farm No. 1, and the Annetje Jans farm, formed the Trinity estate.

No. 1 BROADWAY.—Statues of Clinton, Wolfe, Stuyvesant and Hudson.

No. 41 BROADWAY.—Site of the houses constructed by Adrien

Block in 1613, the first houses on Manhattan Island occupied by white men. Tablet by the Holland Society.

No. 1 Broadway.—Site of the Kennedy House. Washington's headquarters in 1776. The headquarters of many of the British officers during the Revolution. Talleyrand and Prince William were entertained here. Tablet by the Sons of the Revolution. Robert Fulton died in the house at the rear of this site.

No. 4 Bowling Green.—A tablet on the Cunard Steamship Company's office by the Holland Society marks the situation of the north-west bastion of Fort Amsterdam.

No. 33 Pearl Street.—Site of the First Dutch Church. Erected in 1633.

No. 73 Pearl Street.—Site of Kieft's Tavern which became the Stadt Huys in 1653. Tablet by the Holland Society.

79 to 81 Pearl Street.—Site of Bradford's first press. Tablet by the New York Historical Society.

No. 178 Pearl Street.—Home of George Clinton in 1789.

No. 3 Bridge Street.—Site of the bridge over the canal in Broad street. Washington Irving once lived here.

Corner of Pearl and Broad Streets.—Site of Fraunces' Tavern. Chamber of Commerce organized here in 1768. Here Washington bade farewell to his officers in 1783.

No. 29 William Street.—Here in a room twelve by fifteen feet was the first post office in the city.

Corner Vesey Street and Broadway.—St. Paul's Chapel. Oldest church building in the city. Erected in 1764. Montgomery monument in the rear.

Corner Nassau and Cedar Streets.—Site of Middle Dutch Church. Used by the British as a prison during the Revolution. Post office from 1845 to 1875. Tablet on Mutual Life Building.

No. 33 Liberty Street.—Site of the Livingston Sugar House. Used as a prison during the Revolution.

No. 10 Cedar Street.—Once the home of Aaron Burr.

North-west corner of John and William Streets.—Site of Battle of Golden Hill. Tablet.

122-124 William Street.—Golden Hill Inn. Favorite meeting place of the Sons of Liberty.

No. 113 Fulton Street.—Site of North Dutch Church. Used as a prison during the Revolution.

No. 1 Cherry Street.—Site of house occupied by Washington when President. Tablet on pier of Brooklyn Bridge.

Block bounded by King, McDougall, Charlton, and Varick Streets.—Richmond Hill. Occupied by Lord Amherst, Sir William Carleton, Washington, John Adams, and Aaron Burr.

One Hundred and Forty-first Street and Convent Avenue.—Hamilton Grange. Country seat of Alexander Hamilton.

One Hundred and Sixty-first Street, near Edgecombe Avenue.—The Jumel Mansion. Tablet by Daughters of the American Revolution.

City Hall Park.—Statue of Nathan Hale.

Copies of the inscriptions on some of the tablets mentioned will be of interest. A few are here given.

HERE STOOD
THE MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH
DEDICATED A. D. 1729
MADE A BRITISH MILITARY PRISON 1776
RESTORED 1790
OCCUPIED AS THE UNITED STATES POST OFFICE 1845–1875
TAKEN DOWN 1882
THE MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.
OF NEW YORK

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS
THIS TABLET IS DEDICATED BY THE
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS CHAPTER
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
TO THE MEMORY OF
GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
WHO OCCUPIED THIS MANSION AS HIS HEADQUARTERS
FROM SEPTEMBER 16th TO OCTOBER 21st, 1776
BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS, SEPTEMBER 16th
COUNCILS OF WAR
PRESIDENT WASHINGTON VISITED THIS MANSION
ACCOMPANIED BY HIS CABINET, JULY, 1790
MORRIS HOUSE, 1758 JUMEL MANSION, 1810
EARLE CLIFF, 1900

The following inscription is on a tablet on the eastern wall of St. Mark's Church:

IN THIS VAULT LIES BURIED
PETRUS STUYVESANT
LATE CAPTAIN GENERAL AND GOVERNOR IN CHIEF OF
AMSTERDAM
IN NEW NETHERLAND NOW CALLED NEW YORK
AND THE DUTCH WEST INDIA ISLANDS, DIED IN A. D. 167½
AGED 80 YEARS

At the north-west corner of John and William streets will be found a tablet bearing the following inscription:

GOLDEN HILL
HERE JANUARY 18, 1770
THE FIGHT TOOK PLACE BETWEEN THE
"SONS OF LIBERTY"
AND THE
BRITISH REGULARS, 16th FOOT
FIRST BLOOD IN THE
WAR OF THE REVOLUTION
ERECTED BY THE SONS OF THE REVOLUTION

A very interesting tablet at 73 Pearl street bears the following inscription:

THE SITE OF THE
FIRST DUTCH HOUSE OF ENTERTAINMENT
ON THE ISLAND OF MANHATTAN
LATER THE SITE OF THE OLD "STADT HUYS"
OR CITY HALL
THIS TABLET IS PLACED HERE BY
THE HOLLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK
SEPTEMBER, 1890

The following inscription will be found on a tablet placed on No. 41 Broadway:

THIS TABLET MARKS THE SITE OF THE
FIRST HABITATIONS OF WHITE MEN
ON THE ISLAND OF MANHATTAN
ADRIAEN BLOCK
COMMANDER OF THE TIGER
ERECTED HERE FOUR HOUSES OR HUTS
NOVEMBER, 1613
HE BUILT THE RESTLESS THE FIRST VESSEL
MADE BY EUROPEANS IN THIS COUNTRY
THE RESTLESS WAS LAUNCHED
IN THE SPRING OF 1614
THIS TABLET IS PLACED HERE BY
THE HOLLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK
SEPTEMBER, 1890

On the corner of Pearl and Broad streets the following tablet will be found:

FRAUNCES' TAVERN — TO THIS BUILDING
GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
CAME EVACUATION DAY, NOV. 25, 1783
AND ON THURSDAY, DEC. 4th
FOLLOWING, HERE TOOK LEAVE OF THE PRINCIPAL
OFFICERS OF THE ARMY YET IN SERVICE
ERECTED BY THE SONS OF THE REVOLUTION

THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY

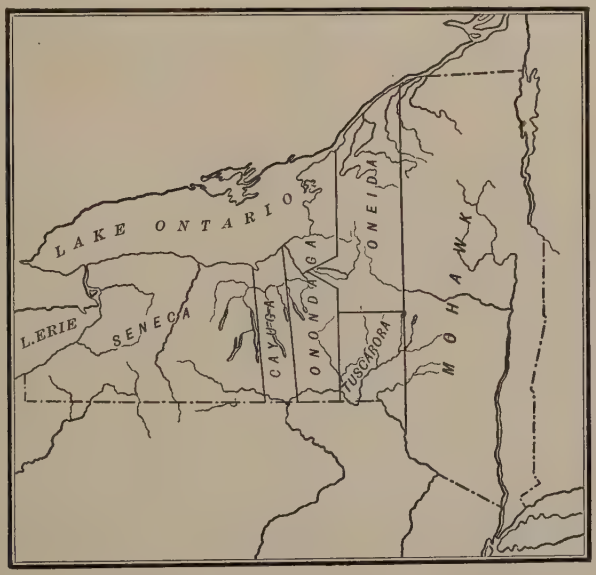
We are all proud of our great Empire State, and if we knew its history better our pride would be still greater. We do know much of its history, but I fear that most of us know but little of that which precedes the Revolution. Why are our laws, manners, and customs, English instead of French? Why do French customs, manners and laws, largely prevail in Canada and not with us? We cannot fully understand this unless we have learned something of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Some time during the thirteenth or fourteenth century an offshoot of the great Dakota family, in the far West, began an eastward movement. It was not a rapid one. These people seem to have remained for a considerable time at several places while on their way to the East. This is especially true of their stay in the Mississippi valley.

While they were in that valley there was a division, one portion whom we know as the Cherokees moving toward the south and occupying the mountain region of eastern Tennessee, northern Georgia, and western North Carolina; two other groups known as the Tuscaroras and Nottaways settling on the coast of northern North Carolina and southern Virginia. It is well to remember that these tribes belonged to the great Iroquois family, in fact one of them, the Tuscaroras, afterward came north and joined their brethren in New York.

Save for the diversions just mentioned, the Iroquois people seem to have kept together till they reached the Niagara River, where they all remained for a time, and then a portion of them passed still farther east, spreading out in a great fan-shaped movement and

occupying the territory from the St. Lawrence on the north to the Susquehanna on the south. The territory which they occupied was compact, no intervening tribes separating the different Iroquois people. On all sides of them were the Algonquins, another great



MAP OF THE TERRITORY OF THE SIX NATIONS

MOHAWKS (Gä-ñé-a-ga-o-nó), or People Possessors of the Flint; ONONDAGAS (O-nuń-d"-ga-o-nó), or People on the Hills; SENECAS (Nun-dá-wä-o-nó), or Great Hill People; ONEIDAS (O-ná-yote-kä-o-nó), or Granite People; CAYUGAS (Gwe-ũ-gweh-o-nó), or People of the Mucky Land; TUSCARORAS (Dus-gá-o-weh-o-nó), or Shirt Wearing People.

Indian family, far more numerous than the Iroquois. It was, so to speak, "an Iroquois island in an Algonquin sea."

Taken as a whole this great family that came out from the west was known as the Huron-Iroquois, but that portion of the family that made up the confederacy which we are to study, was generally

known simply as the Iroquois, though the Dutch spoke of them as the Maquas, the early English called them the Mingoes, the Mohicans knew them as the Mengwe, and to other Algonquin tribes they were known as the Nodawas.

How early these people broke up into separate tribes or nations is not definitely known, but it is certain that the separation had begun before the onward movement from Niagara took place, for at that time different portions of the Iroquois were spoken of as Hurons, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks. All these tribes passed to the north of Lake Ontario. The Hurons settled in the country between Lake Ontario and the lake that bears their name, while the other tribes mentioned passed on farther east. Another group of the Iroquois, who were later known as the Neuter Nation, settled along the northern shore of Lake Erie, and south of the western end of Lake Ontario, probably as far east as the present city of Lockport. To the south of this tribe, along the southern shore of Lake Erie were the Eries or Cat Nation, a very numerous people. The Senecas and Cayugas occupied the territory to the south of Lake Ontario and east of the Eries and Neuter Nation. The Senecas were farther west than the Cayugas and far more numerous and powerful. Still another tribe, known as the Susquehannocks, settled in the Susquehanna valley. All these people were of the Iroquois stock.

As the Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks entered the valley of the St. Lawrence they came in contact with the Adirondacks, an Algonquin tribe. With these people the Mohawks waged a long and bitter war, of which we know nothing regarding the details.

The Mohawks were the most numerous and warlike of the three tribes that entered the St. Lawrence valley. They made their way as far east as Quebec which they made their capital. In the meantime their kinsmen, the Hurons, made their capital at Montreal which they called Hochelaga.

The Hurons seem to have been disposed to live in peace with their Algonquin neighbors, while the Mohawks were constantly at war with them. For this, or for some other reason, the Mohawks quarrelled with their kinsmen and drove them out of Hochelaga and made their own capital there. At this time the Mohawks were probably at the height of their power. They dominated all the country from the lower St. Lawrence to the head waters of the Mohawk. Vermont and the Adirondacks were their hunting grounds. They were continually at war with the surrounding tribes.

The various movements that took place before the final settlement of the Iroquois in this state are more or less uncertain. The Onondagas seem to have returned along the route by which they entered the St. Lawrence valley, and finally to have entered this state at or near Oswego. The Oneidas, closely related to the Mohawks, appear to have entered the state at an earlier date than did their allies. They settled in the territory which they continued to occupy until after the Revolution.

For some reason, not now known, the Mohawks were attacked at the same time by their kinsmen, the Hurons, and all the northern Algonquin tribes. A long and bloody contest followed, resulting in the expulsion of the Mohawks, who retreated through Lakes Champlain and George, and entered the valley that has since borne their name. It is said that plague and famine were added to the horrors of war. Be that as it may, it is certain that the Mohawks were driven out of the country, greatly reduced in numbers, and somewhat humbled in spirit. The date of their expulsion is not definitely known, but when Cartier came to Canada in 1535, he found a Mohawk village on the island of Montreal; but seventy-four years later, when Champlain came, no trace of the Mohawks could be found in that section, so we may be sure that the Mohawks were driven out of the St. Lawrence valley some time between 1535 and 1609.

ORIGIN OF THE CONFEDERACY

Some writers claim that the Iroquois Confederacy was formed as early as 1450, while others are equally certain that it was not earlier than 1570. When the Onondagas settled in this state the Oneidas were their near neighbors on the east, while the Cayugas joined them on the west. All these were kindred people. The Oneidas were a dependency of the Mohawks, and the Cayugas bore a similar relation to the Senecas, so it is quite possible that there was a general understanding among the five tribes as early as 1450, though it is not probable that at this early date there was any organization of the nature of a confederacy. Such an organization among savage peoples would naturally be a plant of slow growth and it is more than probable that it was not fully perfected earlier than 1570.

Doubtless the purpose of the confederacy was to put an end to warfare among themselves, and to gather strength for the purpose of better contending with their common foes. An effort was made to bring all the Iroquois people together in a confederacy, but at first only the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas joined. They were known as the Five Nations. Later the Tuscaroras came up from the south and joined them, after which they were called the Six Nations.

The members of the confederacy were very bitter against the Iroquois nations who would not join the league. They were regarded as traitors and pursued even more relentlessly than were their long time foes, the Algonquins.

When the Six Nations were finally settled in this state they divided the territory among themselves in the manner shown on the map given on a preceding page. Beginning at the east they arranged themselves in the following order: Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. When the Tuscaroras came from the south they were given territory to the south of the Oneidas. You can determine, with a fair degree of accuracy, the

location of each of these tribes by referring to any common map, as they have given their names to lakes and rivers; and towns and counties have been named for them.

AN IROQUOIS MYTH

The Iroquois have a very pretty legend regarding the origin of their league. It runs like this: They were almost constantly at war with each other as well as with the surrounding Algonquin tribes. A fierce, warlike tribe from the north nearly exterminated the Onondagas. This created the greatest consternation among all the Iroquois people. Unless something could be done to check the northern barbarians all would perish. In their distress they called upon Hiawatha, "the Holder of the Heavens." He told them to call a great council to be held on the banks of Onondaga Lake, and to gather there representatives from all the tribes. This was done; and after the great council fires had blazed three days and nights Hiawatha came across the lake to them in a great white canoe and spoke as follows:

"Brothers; you have come here from a great distance to provide safety for yourselves and your homes. How shall it be done? We can make no progress by opposing singly these tribes from the cold north. We must unite all our tribes into one band of brothers. In that way we shall be able to keep our enemies from our land.

"You, the Mohawks, sitting under the shadow of the 'Great Tree' whose roots sink deep into the earth, and whose branches spread out over a vast country, shall be the first nation, because you are warlike and mighty.

"And you, Oneidas, a people who recline on your bodies against the 'Everlasting Stone' that cannot be moved, shall be the second nation, because you give wise counsel.

"And you, Onondagas, who have your habitation at the 'Great Mountain' and are overshadowed by its crags, shall be the third nation, because you are gifted in speech, and are mighty in war.

"And you, Cayugas, whose habitation is in the 'Dark Forest' and whose home is everywhere, shall be the fourth nation, because of your superior cunning in hunting.

"And you, Senecas, a people who live in the 'Open Country' and possess much wisdom shall be the fifth nation, because you understand better the art of raising corn and beans, and making of cabins.

"You, five great and powerful nations, must unite and have but one common interest and no foe shall be able to disturb you or subdue you. If we unite, the Great Spirit will smile upon us. Brothers, these are the words of Hiawatha; let them sink deep in your hearts."

The legend says that when Hiawatha had finished speaking the air was filled with sweet music, and the beautiful white canoe rose slowly into the air bearing Hiawatha up into the beautiful deep blue sky and out of their sight, leaving them to act upon his advice.

THE COMING OF THE WHITES

When the first white people came to this country all that portion between the St. Lawrence on the north, and the James and Tennessee rivers on the south was dominated by the Iroquois. They had exterminated many of the Indian tribes that had once occupied the country. Some of these people had been killed, others adopted, for the Iroquois never made slaves, death or adoption being the fate of all whom they overcame.

On every hand the Mohawks were feared. They had driven the Mohicans, an Algonquin tribe, from the Hudson into the valley of the Connecticut, and so completely broken their spirit, that if a single Iroquois appeared in their country they would flee in terror crying "A Mohawk! a Mohawk!"

They had exterminated their old enemies, the Adirondacks, the first Algonquin tribe with whom they came in contact when they entered the valley of the St. Lawrence, but the Hurons as well as the Algonquin tribes on the north kept up a continual warfare against them.

In 1678 Father Hennepin said, "The Iroquois, whom the Swedes, then the Dutch, then the English, and French, have furnished with firearms, are reckoned at present the most warlike of all the savages

yet known. They have slain the best warriors among the Hurons, and forced the rest of the nations to join with them to make war together against all their enemies situated five or six hundred leagues distant from their five cantons. They have already destroyed above two millions of men."

Martin D. Valiries wrote, "The Iroquois are a barbarous and insolent nation that has shed the blood of more than two millions of souls and are now actually at war with the inhabitants of Canada."

It was not possible for any one to know the extent of the losses which the Iroquois had inflicted upon their enemies. While it was no doubt very great, the estimate of Father Hennepin and Valiries was beyond question far too great.

The Neuter Nation, supposed to number twelve thousand, was annihilated by the Senecas in 1650. The most powerful of all the enemies of the Iroquois were the Eries or Cat Nation. They were overcome about 1665.

These various statements give a pretty good idea of the relation of the Iroquois to the other Indian nations when Champlain came to Canada in 1609. He was very desirous of cultivating friendly relations with the Hurons and the Algonquins and he therefore accompanied a party of them on an expedition against the Mohawks.

The party that Champlain accompanied passed up the St. Lawrence, through the Richelieu River, then southward over the waters of the magnificent lake that still bears the name of its discoverer. What must have been the feelings of Champlain and his two white companions as they gazed upon scenes which till that time no white man had ever looked upon? A great lake, much larger than any they had ever before known, lay before them, dotted here and there with islands, and its shores covered with forests of evergreen and deciduous trees. On their left, seen through the beautiful purple mists, were the Green mountains, while on their right, nearer at hand, rose the majestic Adirondacks, the hunting ground of the Iroquois.

Near Ticonderoga they met a war-party of Mohawks greatly outnumbering them, but the Algonquins had so great confidence in Champlain that they did not hesitate to meet the foe whom, under other circumstances, they would not have dared to face. In the fight that followed Champlain fired his musket, which he had loaded with four slugs, and killed one Mohawk chief and wounded two others. While he was reloading, one of his companions fired. The extraordinary noise, unlike anything they had ever heard, the death of their companions without any cause which they could comprehend, was too much for even the bravery and courage of the Mohawks to withstand, and they turned and fled into the depths of the forests. In their terror they abandoned canoes, provisions, and in many cases their weapons.

SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN

If the shot fired by Champlain was not like that of the embattled farmers at Concord "heard round the world" it at least reverberated here for a century and a half and possibly changed the destinies of a continent, for it made the Iroquois the bitter and undying enemies of the French, and the attitude of the Confederacy was a potent factor in giving this country to the English, as will be seen later.

Their defeat at the hands of Champlain and the Algonquins rankled in the breasts of the Iroquois. They felt it to be a disgrace that must never be forgiven nor forgotten. It was a humiliation that must be revenged at all hazards and at any cost, but for the time being they were powerless. Thirty-three years later, when perhaps not a man was living who had been engaged in the conflict with Champlain, they took full and bloody revenge.

In the fall of the same year that Champlain defeated the Mohawks, Hudson entered New York Bay and passed up the river that has been named in his honor. The Dutch traders soon followed and from them the Iroquois secured firearms, and in time became skilled in their use. For a third of a century they bore in silence the humiliation of the defeat inflicted upon them by Champlain, but they never forgot it nor ceased to plan for revenge. They kept up a desultory warfare with the Hurons and the Algonquins. The Senecas and other western nations maintained a warfare with the Hurons, while the Mohawks, in parties numbering from a dozen to a hundred, passed through the lakes and down the Richelieu River to the St. Lawrence where they would lie in ambush and attack passing boats. At times they would go even as far as Quebec and hover around the fortifications killing stragglers and luring parties into ambuscades. They would lie in wait for days or even weeks in order to ambush parties or attack an unguarded camp. In order clearly to understand the movements that will be described in the contests between the Iroquois, the French and the Canadian Indians, you must know something of the country traversed, and it will be worth your while to give some study to the map on page 91.

The Iroquois were good haters and they had long memories. No task was too hard if it led to the gratification of their revenge. A journey of a thousand miles, or a wait of years, was as nothing if it enabled them to satisfy their desire for vengeance. These were the characteristics of a people who had been nursing their wrath against the French for a generation.

In 1642 they felt that their time had come. A great war party of the Iroquois invaded Canada with the avowed purpose of wiping out their long standing humiliation and disgrace. They came near destroying the French colonies and exterminating the Algonquins and possibly would have done so but for the timely arrival of soldiers from France. As it was, they killed great numbers of the French and Algonquins and took hundreds of prisoners, among the number

being Father Jogues, a French Jesuit missionary to the Hurons. The Iroquois took these prisoners home with them to be tortured for the entertainment of those who had been unable to go upon the expedition. The party returned through Lakes Champlain and George. Father Jogues was the first white man to see the last-named lake, which the Indians knew as "Place where the lake closes" and "Tail of the lake," both names evidently referring to its connection with Lake Champlain. The party reached the lake on the eve of a church holiday known as Corpus Christi, and this together with the beauty of the lake and the purity and clearness of its water, led Father Jogues to give it the name of Lake Saint Sacrament, a name which it bore for a hundred years.

The tortures to which Father Jogues and his companions were subjected are almost beyond belief. Some had their clothing torn off, hair and beard plucked out, finger nails torn out by the roots, joints of their fingers cut off with clam shells, wounds torn open again and again. Many were compelled to run the gauntlet, while others were burnt at the stake. It is a horrible story, but one that can be paralleled many times in Indian history. We must not, however, assume that all the cruelty was the work of the Indians. Colden, speaking of the tortures inflicted upon the Indians, describes as horrible tortures as the Indians were ever guilty of. Hear what he says: "They first broiled his feet between two hot stones; then they put his fingers into red hot pipes, and though he had his arms at liberty would not pull his fingers out; they cut his joints, taking hold of the sinews, twisted them round small bars of iron. At last they flead his scalp from his skull and poured scalding hot sand upon it." And again, "broiled the flesh of the prisoner's legs from his toes to his knees with the red hot barrel of a gun." This is not a description of tortures by Indians, but the torture of Indians by white people.

Father Jogues was finally released through the efforts of the Dutch, who were on friendly relations with the Mohawks. Arent

Van Corlear of Schenectady, whose influence with the Iroquois was very great, and Dominie Megapolensis, the Dutch minister at Albany, were very prominent in securing the release of Father Jogues, who then went to France, but two years later returned as a missionary to the Mohawks, only to be cruelly murdered by those whom he was trying to serve. Parkman in speaking of him, says, "Thus died Isaac Jogues, one of the purest examples of Roman Catholic virtue which this western continent has seen."

The Iroquois now carried on unceasing war against the French and Algonquins. A writer of the time says, "A man could neither hunt, fish, fell a tree, nor till the soil, in all Canada, without danger of being murdered by some lurking Iroquois."

Famine and pestilence were added to the ravages of war till the spirit of the Algonquins was utterly broken. An Iroquois footprint was enough to fill them with terror. Father Vimont, writing of the condition at that time, said, "Where eight years ago one would see a hundred wigwams, one now scarcely sees five or six. A chief who once had eight hundred warriors has now but thirty or forty; in place of fleets of three or four hundred canoes, we now see less than one-tenth of that number." It was said of the Iroquois at this time, that they were "the scourge of God upon the aborigines of the continent."

The Iroquois exterminated the Eries, overthrew one Algonquin tribe after another, and finally drove the remainder under the walls of Quebec for protection, but even here they were not safe. Being driven out of the St. Lawrence valley they went to the shores of Lake Superior, but their insatiable enemies still pursued them and massacred great numbers of them at a place that is still known as Point Iroquois. The French suffered hardly less than the Algonquins. It seemed as though the infant colony was destined to be destroyed.

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE IROQUOIS

It was clear that if the French colonies were to prosper, or even continue to exist, something must be done to check the incursions of the Iroquois. In 1666, Governor Courcelle, with a force of five hundred men, started on an expedition to the Mohawk country, but his force was too small and he started too late in the season. They did not leave Quebec till October, and winter was upon them before they reached Lake Champlain. The season was unusually severe and the men suffered terribly; many having ears, noses, fingers, or feet frozen. The snow was deep and their progress very slow. All their supplies were carried on toboggans which the men drew slowly along over the trackless way. At night they made caves in the snow to protect themselves from the bitter wind that swept without resistance over the level surface of the lake. At their last stopping place before reaching the head of Lake George, their Algonquin guides became drunk and failed to keep up with the party. On reaching the head of the lake no one knew what route to take, and instead of going by way of the Kayadrosseras trail, which led directly into the Mohawk country by the way of the Sacandaga River, they took the route that led to Schenectady by the way of Saratoga. The expedition did not reach Schenectady till late in February, and the men were so worn out by their terrible journey that the whole party would have been killed by the Indians they came to punish, had it not been for the protection of the Dutch. After resting a few days they retraced their long and weary journey, with the Mohawks hovering in their rear. A few were killed by the Indians, some were taken prisoners, and more than fifty perished from cold and hunger. The expedition was a very unfortunate one. There had been great suffering and loss of life. The Indians had not been punished, though they had learned that their homes were not safe from attack.

The year after this expedition, Tracy and Courcelle set out on

another expedition against the Mohawks, this time with thirteen hundred men instead of five hundred. They started earlier in the year so as to avoid the suffering which the previous expedition had experienced. They reached Lake Champlain in October. The contrast between the conditions which they found and those that the previous expedition had to contend with was very great. Instead of the dead of winter, and a frozen lake covered with ice and snow, and swept by bitter winds, was the beautiful open lake over which the expedition passed easily in boats. The foliage of the sumacs and maples was gorgeous with its fall covering; the oaks and the ashes added to the brilliant hues that made so pleasing a contrast to the dark greens of the pines and spruces. The little army was transported over the surface of the lake in a fleet of over three hundred boats and canoes.

They landed at the head of Lake George at the place where Fort William Henry was built nearly a hundred years later. The route to the Mohawk towns was "through an unbroken forest, over mountains, through swamps, and across streams." Tracy was an old man not fit for such an expedition. He was attacked with gout, and at the same time Courcelle suffered from cramps. Both men had to be carried. After much hard work and a great deal of suffering they reached the Mohawk country. But the Indians had learned of their approach and fled to the other Iroquois people, where they were obliged to spend the winter, as the French burned their towns, or "castles" as they were called, and destroyed all their provisions. Tracy planted a cross, erected the French arms, and claimed the country by right of conquest.

These two expeditions of the French, and other acts on their part which extended through a series of years, so exasperated the Iroquois that in 1689 they fitted out a second great expedition for the invasion of Canada. It was even stronger than that of 1642, consisting of fifteen hundred warriors. So carefully had the expedition been planned, so secretly were all the movements made, that the

French did not dream of their approach. One night, early in August, during a violent hailstorm, the whole Indian force landed at Lachine, just above Montreal. "As unexpected as a thunderbolt from a clear sky came the frightful war-whoop. Then followed the most horrible massacre of Canadian history. All Canada was paralyzed with fear. For weeks the Iroquois roamed over the country, burning houses, destroying property, capturing or killing all the inhabitants found outside of Montreal and the forts in that section. When they withdrew they carried off great numbers of prisoners to be tortured in the towns of the Confederacy." More than a thousand of the French were killed during this expedition while the Iroquois lost only three men.

The French government outlined a plan for the capture of the colony of New York in the fall of 1689. They were to gather a large army of French and Indians in Canada, and go down the lakes and capture Albany. They were then to go down the Hudson and capture New York, and finally overrun the whole colony. They were to compel the Catholics to swear allegiance to the French, send the Huguenots back to France, and drive the remainder of the people into the woods and confiscate their property. When we recall how weak in numbers the colony was at that time, it will be seen that the plan of the French was quite feasible, but while it was maturing in France, something took place in this country. It was at this time that the great Iroquois invasion just described took place, and when the able, forceful, and energetic Frontenac, whom the French government sent over to carry out its plans, arrived, he found that he had quite all that he could do to repair the damage which the Iroquois had done. It seems clear that the colony of New York was saved to the English at this time by the Iroquois. The purposes of the French included more than has been related. After accomplishing what has already been given as their plan, they were to withhold all further supplies of firearms and ammunition from the Iroquois, and after the supply they had on hand was exhausted, they were to

be thoroughly subdued. Had Frontenac been sent to this country a year earlier these plans would doubtless have been successful. Had he come a year later it is possible that he would not have found any existing French colony. Certainly it was fortunate for the French that at this time the incapable Denonville was succeeded by so

INDIAN VILLAGE ON MANHATTAN ISLAND

capable a man as Frontenac, for there was great danger that the colony would be utterly destroyed by the Iroquois.

Frontenac fitted out several expeditions against the Iroquois and their allies. One was sent against Albany, but when it reached the head of Lake Champlain the Indians in the party insisted on being told whither they were being led, and when told refused to go, being mortally afraid of the "big guns" as they called the cannon. However, the force moved on, but when Saratoga was reached, the Indians turned in the direction of Schenectady and there was noth-

ing for the soldiers to do but follow. The expedition numbered only two hundred and ten, including ninety-six Indians. It was mid-winter and the snow was very deep. A thaw set in and the men had to march in snow and slush knee deep. It was only thirty-seven miles from Saratoga to Schenectady, but it took nine days for the expedition to go that distance. Just before they reached Schenectady the weather changed. The snow fell in great quantities, the wind blew a gale, it became extremely cold, and the men were so chilled as to be almost helpless. There seemed to be no chance of their success. Had a small force appeared and demanded their surrender they would have been compelled to yield, but fortune favored them at the last moment. Although France and England were at war, and Schenectady was the most western outpost of the English, no provision for effective defence had been made. This was due to the political situation. There had been a revolution in England. King James fled to France and was succeeded by William and Mary. There were two parties in the colony. Leisler represented those opposed to King James. As the result of this controversy the people at Schenectady would not provide for the soldiers sent for their protection; therefore, when a little after midnight on the 8th of February, 1690, the French and Indians appeared before the place there was not a man on guard, nor a gate closed. The surprise was complete. The massacre and pillage continued for two hours. In reporting the affair, Schuyler said, "No pen can write, and no tongue can express the cruelties that were committed." Thirty-eight men, ten women, and twelve children were killed, and the remainder of the inhabitants, eighty or ninety in number, were taken prisoners. Of the eighty houses in the village all but two were burned.

Later Frontenac sent a strong force into the Iroquois country and burned several of their villages. He was so vigorous in his attacks upon the Indians that the incursions of the Iroquois ceased, and the French became strongly established in Canada.

IROQUOIS CHARACTERISTICS

At no time were the Iroquois a numerous people. It is doubtful if they ever numbered as many as twenty thousand, but they were by far the most warlike of all the Indians east of the Mississippi. They were the strongest, in many ways the noblest, and altogether the most interesting aboriginal people north of Mexico. They have fitly been called "The Romans of the West." They proudly called themselves "Ongwe-honwe," men surpassing all others. They were brave in battle, skilled as diplomats, and noted as warriors. With them war was the business of life. The council was largely a recreation, and fishing, hunting, and trapping, something that had to be done. They had great war captains like Brant and King Hendrick, and noted orators such as Red Jacket and Logan. They had a strong government, made permanent conquests, and established colonies. It is interesting to study some of the causes of their superiority.

LOCATION

The location of the Iroquois was a very important matter. They were situated on the high ground where the streams that found their final outlet in the Great Lakes, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, New York, Delaware, and Chesapeake Bays, and the Gulf of Mexico, had their origin. In their light birch bark canoes they could, by the means of short "carries," reach, by water, almost any part of the great territory which they dominated. Their attacks were made so suddenly that their enemies had no warning of their approach and so were unprepared to meet them. They could readily concentrate their whole force at almost any point. They held what General Grant declared to be "the military key of the continent."

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE IROQUOIS

Neither their location, nor their character, nor both together could have made the Iroquois as pre-eminent as they were among

the aboriginal inhabitants, without their form of government, which was a most remarkable organization for savages to effect. It resembled our own government to some extent. Each nation was a distinct republic so far as its own domestic affairs were concerned, but all were bound together in matters of general interest.

The subdivision of each nation into clans, the Iroquois peculiarities of descent, and their marriage laws or customs were powerful factors in binding the nations together, and in developing a democratic spirit. Each nation was divided into eight clans known as the Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Snipe, Heron, and Hawk clans. Of these the Tortoise, Bear, and Wolf were the most distinguished. In each nation there were at least eight principal sachems, one for each clan.

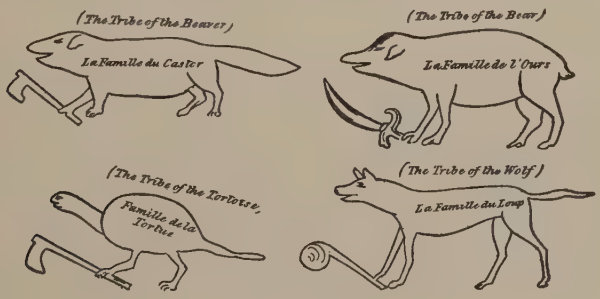
In making treaties the sachems affixed to the document in place of their signatures a rude drawing of the animal representing their clan. This was called their totem. There were in all fifty sachems, divided among the nations as follows: The Onondagas had fourteen, the Cayugas ten, the Mohawks and Oneidas nine each, and the Senecas eight. When the Tuscaroras joined the League they were allowed to have sachems to manage their own local affairs, but these sachems were not permitted to become members of the general council and so give them a voice in the affairs of the Confederacy. The fifty sachems constituted what was known as the Council of the League. This combined the legislative, executive and judicial authority of the nation.

The Council held an annual meeting in the autumn at Onondaga. Special meetings might be called at any time and held at any place. The Council declared war, made peace, received ambassadors, entered into treaties, in a word decided all matters of political, military, social, and religious action. In order to secure favorable action on any question it was necessary to have a unanimous affirmative vote of all the sachems present.

In debate a speaker was never interrupted, and there was rarely

any heat. Each speaker presented his views in the best manner that he could, usually repeating the substance of all that had been said by those who preceded him. This custom frequently made their debates tediously long. Important councils sometimes lasted for days.

The whole body of sachems acting together managed the civil affairs of the League and the sachems of each nation performed the same office for their respective peoples. The office of sachem was hereditary, but at the death of a sachem his successor did not enter


(The Tribe of the Beaver)
La Famille du Castor
(The Tribe of the Bear)
La Famille de l'Ours
(The Tribe of the Tortoise)
Famille de la Tortue
(The Tribe of the Wolf)
La Famille du Loup

IROQUOIS TOTEMS

upon the duties of his office till he had been "raised" by the Council with proper ceremonies. The name as well as the office was hereditary, each sachem bearing the name belonging to the original holder of the office.

No sachem, in his official capacity, could go to war. He had to lay aside his civil office, for the time being, if he wished to engage in warfare.

Aside from the Council already spoken of, there was, at least during the later days of the Confederacy, what was known as the Great Council, consisting of one member from each of the nations, except the Senecas, who were allowed two on account of their greater numbers. This council had only advisory powers.

Beside the sachems, there were the war-chiefs, chosen because of their valor, skill, or other merit. This office was not hereditary, nor was the number that might hold it limited. The war-chiefs were the military leaders of the Iroquois and were chosen from the best talent of the nation. Practically all the prominent warriors and orators belonged to it. Logan was the only sachem to make a name in history.

When war was declared it was sometimes carried on by means of great expeditions carefully planned by the nation, but more frequently by smaller expeditions organized by individual chiefs. A war dance would be held, and some chief would organize a war-party made up of volunteers. Whether the party was large or small depended upon the popularity of the chief who was to lead it, and the feeling of bitterness against the foe who was to be attacked. If several chiefs at the same time organized expeditions against a common enemy, each war-party would act independently unless some strong will, or persuasive personage, secured complete control for the time being by common consent. It is evident that with such methods of conducting a war no large number could be induced to take part in one that was not popular. In this respect the Iroquois had the most democratic government possible.

Neither the elected war-chief, nor the hereditary sachem lived better than his fellows in any respect, in fact he frequently fared worse because his position led him to be liberal as regarded the comfort of others, even to the extent of impoverishing himself. The government of the Confederacy was an oligarchy in form, but democratic in spirit and action. There was no accumulation of wealth for the benefit of an individual, nor biting poverty for any, save when all suffered together.

As has been the case with many civilized nations, the military authority sometimes overruled the civil. The war-chiefs added to their power and influence from time to time, till they nearly or quite equalled the sachems in this respect.

LINE OF DESCENT

The line of descent was through the women and not as with us through the men. All rank, titles and possessions, were inherited through the mother, not the father. No son could inherit anything from his father. This custom, together with the laws regarding marriage, resulted in a very democratic distribution of what little wealth the Indians had and bound firmly in the ties of kinship the whole confederacy.

Upon the death of a sachem this hereditary office did not go to his son. The reason is obvious. The office really belonged to the nation. If a Mohawk of the Wolf clan, a sachem representing his clan and nation, married a Seneca woman of the Tortoise clan, his children were not Mohawks of the Wolf clan, but Senecas of the Tortoise clan, and could not of course hold any Mohawk office. Upon the man's death his title would go to the nearest male heir of his mother who was a Mohawk of the Wolf clan.

HOME LIFE OF THE IROQUOIS

When a woman married she took her husband home to her tribe and clan, though he did not become a member of either; that is if a Seneca Indian of the Hawk clan married a Mohawk woman of the Wolf clan, he went to live with the Mohawks, though he did not become a member of their tribe or of the Wolf clan, though his children would be Mohawks of the Wolf clan the same as their mother was.

While the wife was in many ways the slave of her husband, she ruled the home, and if her husband proved to be lazy and failed to provide suitably for his family, or to do his part in maintaining the general welfare, she might at any time order him to take his blanket and leave, and if he was wise, as he usually was, he obeyed the order. After all life bore quite as severely upon the men as upon the women. They hunted for food, making long and laborious

journeys; protected their territory from their enemies; and spent long seasons in the hard work of trapping. In all the nations there were more women than men, because on the whole life on the part of the men was one of greater trial and danger.

In the lodge the Indian was a man of few words. He acknowledged the woman's right to rule there. If she was offended the Indian smiled; if he was offended he walked out. The women, old men, and boys cultivated the fields and gathered the fuel.

There was no individual ownership in land. Changes of location were made only as conditions compelled them. In the course of ten or a dozen years the bark covering of their houses would become rotten, the whole house would be infested with vermin, the soil would become somewhat exhausted, and available firewood would be scarce. A change of location involved much hard work. The Indians had no beasts of burden, and until after the coming of the white man, no metal tools. All cutting or working of wood had to be done with stone instruments or by means of fire. The parts of their houses were fastened together by tying with strings or ropes made of the fibre of the inner bark of trees. It is clear that the transportation of materials, the construction of houses, and the clearing of land, was a very slow and laborious process, and one to be dreaded. It is not to be wondered at that they lived in the old houses long after they were unfit for use.

The Indians had no family names. A single name was given each person when young, to be replaced by another when maturity was reached. The power to change the name of a boy when he reached manhood rested with the chief, but it was sometimes done by the mother, or a sister, or a brother, but never by the father. It was usually done without the consent, or even the knowledge of the person concerned. An Indian was addressed as "my brother," or "my uncle," but never by his name.

Much has been said of the eloquence of the Indians and it may not be amiss to give here the famous speech of the Cayuga chief

Logan. Jefferson said of this speech, "I challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished more eminent, to produce a single passage, superior to the speech of Logan." The speech is as follows:

"I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if he ever came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white man.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

THE LONG HOUSE

The Iroquois Long House was quite unlike the houses of other Indians. It was made by setting two parallel rows of saplings in the ground and bending the tops together in such a way as to form the framework of the sides and roof. The ends were made in a similar manner. This slender framework was strengthened by binding other saplings to it at right angles to the first. The whole surface, roof and sides, was then covered with sheets of bark, laid as we lay shingles, though the sheets of bark were much larger than the shingles which we use. The bark was held in place by having long saplings bound across it. Strings and ropes of bark were used for this purpose. The bark of the elm was most frequently used for covering, though that of the oak, spruce, and cedar was sometimes used. The strings and ropes were generally made from the inner bark of the basswood. The houses were from eighteen to

twenty-four feet in width, and from twenty to one hundred in length, or even longer in some cases. It was their unusual length rather than their form that gave them their name.

On the inside the Long House was arranged something like a sleeping car with the berths made up but no curtains in place. In the longer houses there were cross-partitions every twenty feet or thereabouts. When the house was divided into sections by parti-

THE IROQUOIS LONG HOUSE

tions there were eight bunks in each section, four on each side, two above and two below. These bunks were used for beds at night and for a variety of purposes during the day. Doubtless some of them were used as storerooms.

It has generally been supposed that each house was occupied by as many families as there were sections in the house, but some modern writers have doubted this.

Van Corlear kept a diary, published a few years since, in which he speaks of visiting the Mohawk towns as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, and finding in a single dwelling as much as three hundred bushels of corn in addition to other supplies. The reports of the number of inhabitants and houses in the Mohawk towns, or castles, made by different persons, would indicate that

it was not customary for more than one family to occupy the same house.

The houses were warmed in winter by building fires on the ground in one or more of the sections. The smoke escaped through holes or openings in the roof. The houses were very smoky, so much so as to seriously affect the eyes of the occupants, blindness, due to this cause, being very common in old age.

The Iroquois were sometimes spoken of as the Brethren of the Long House. The territory occupied by them was sometimes called the Long House, because its form somewhat resembled that of their houses, being much longer than it was wide. Because of their relative positions in the territory occupied by the Confederacy, the Mohawks were sometimes called the keepers of the eastern door, and the Senecas the keepers of the western door, while the Onondagas were called the keepers of the central fire.

THE FOOD OF THE INDIANS

The staple food of the Iroquois was corn cooked without salt. Contrary to the general belief they did not live largely upon meat. Venison was a luxury used at feasts, and meat of any kind was not plentiful. The Iroquois had three varieties of corn, red, common white, and white flint. Each variety had its special uses, being considered better than the others for those purposes. The corn was prepared for food in various ways. They roasted it green on the cob as we sometimes do. They boiled it with beans and made a dish which we call succotash. They also picked the corn before it was fully ripe, partially roasted it, then removed it from the cob and dried it in the sun, after which they mixed it with one-third of its bulk of maple sugar, and ground the mixture to flour. This made a very nourishing dish and a small quantity would sustain a person for a long time. For winter use they allowed the corn to ripen fully. They boiled it in water containing ashes, to loosen the hull, after which they washed it in clear water to remove the potash, then

dried it and ground it to meal by means of a mortar and pestle. Of this meal they made bread in loaves about an inch thick and six inches in diameter. It was much like our Indian bread.

The tribes to the west, notably the Cayugas and Senecas, raised much fruit, such as apples, peaches, plums, and pears. Sullivan on his expedition against the Indians destroyed a single peach orchard that contained sixteen hundred trees. All the tribes raised corn, beans, pumpkins, and squashes, the western tribes some other vegetables as well. Having plenty of cleared land the western tribes were enabled to engage in agriculture to an extent that those in the eastern part of the state, who had to clear the land they cultivated, could not possibly do.

INDIAN INDUSTRIES AND INVENTIONS

The Indians, having no knowledge of metals before the coming of the whites, made but little progress in the arts, though in some ways they displayed considerable powers of invention. The Iroquois did not distinguish themselves in the art of pottery, though their women made a sort of earthen vessel for cooking, using clay in which some ground quartz was mixed. The Indian women were quite skilful in making various utensils from wooden splints, corn husks, or flags.

Not having any metal tools the Indians were at a great disadvantage in all their industries. When they wished to fell a tree they started a fire at its foot, and when the body became charred they would scrape away the burned portion, then start the fire again, and repeat the process till the tree fell. They would hollow out the trunk of a tree, or make wooden mortars, in the same way, hastening the process by the use of stone chisels and gouges.

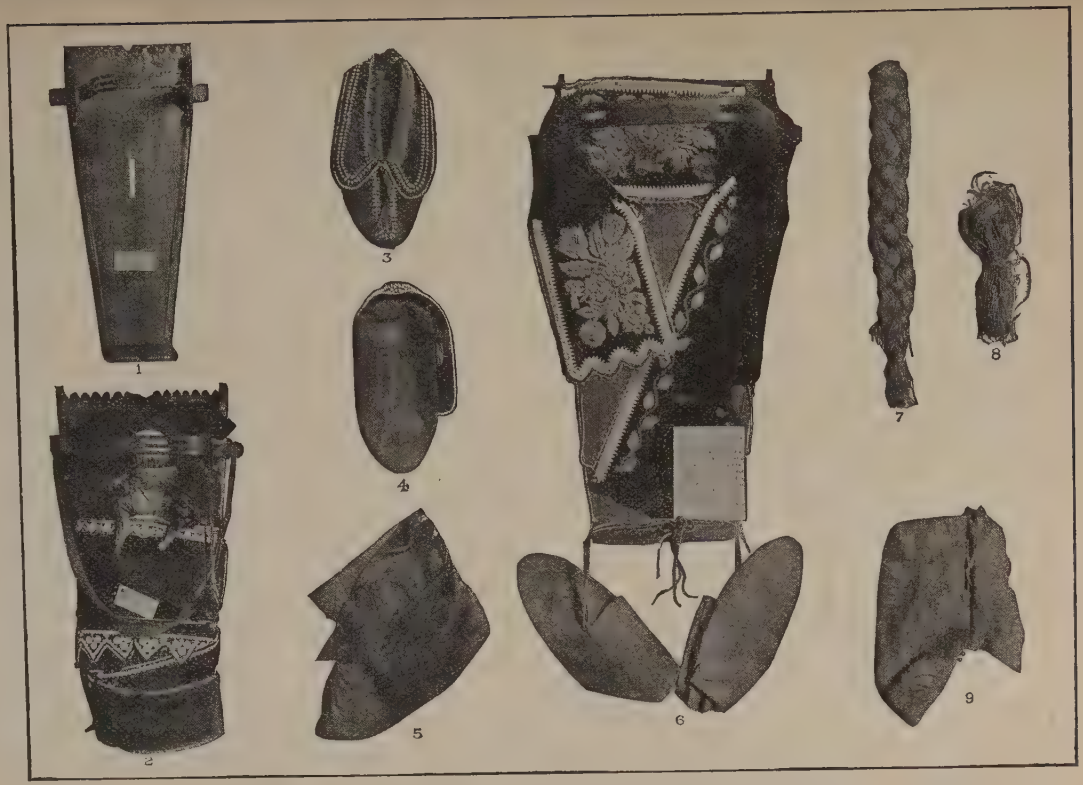
Barrels and trays, as well as canoes, were made of bark. The barrels were usually made of the inside bark of the red elm, and were very durable. They were used for holding corn, beans, dried fruit and other supplies.

1. BARK TRAY; 2. MEAL SIEVE; 3. CORN HUSK BOTTLE; 4. BASKET; 5. BOWL; 6. LADLE; 7. SPOON; 8. LADLE; 9. BARK TRAY; 10. AXE; 11. GOUGE; 12. STONE CHISEL; 13. AXE; 14. MORTAR AND PESTLE.

The Indians made very strong and serviceable ropes and straps of the inner bark of the elm and the basswood. The bark was boiled in water containing ashes and then rinsed in clear water and dried. The fibre would be in long strips, sometimes several feet in length.

The bark canoe was one of the most useful articles made by the Indians. The best ones were made of birch bark, though the bark of the elm and the hickory was also used, but they were much heavier, and liable to become warped out of shape. In the process of making a canoe the first step was to take from the tree a strip of bark as long as the canoe was to be. The rough outside part was smoothed off, and then the prepared bark was cut and bent into proper shape, and the seams stopped with pitch. The canoe was strengthened by placing wooden strips around the top both inside and out. It also had wooden ribs placed a few inches apart, and thin pieces of wood in the bottom to stand on. It required considerable skill to construct a good canoe. Some of the canoes were very small, only large enough to carry one or two people. Others were large enough to carry a load of two or three tons. Most of the canoes were large enough to carry three or four people, yet they were so light they could be carried long distances by a single person. It was largely due to these light and swift canoes that the Iroquois were able to dominate as large an extent of territory as they did.

The use of snow shoes enabled the Indians to make long journeys in the winter easily and rapidly. When the snow was soft enough to pack a little, or there was a slight crust, they could easily go fifty miles a day with these shoes. The snow shoe was made by taking a piece of ash or hickory about an inch in diameter, and some six feet long, and bending it so as to make a bow in front while the two ends came together in the rear. It was kept in shape by wooden cross-pieces near each end. The space between the cross-pieces was covered with a strong netting of woven deer thongs,



1. INDIAN BABY FRAME; 2. INDIAN BABY FRAME; 3. MOCCASINS; 4. MOCCASINS; 5. MOCCASINS; 6. BABY FRAME AND MOCCASINS; 7 AND 8. ELM BARK FIBRE; 9. MOCCASINS.

the meshes being about an inch in diameter. The ball of the foot was fastened to the fore part of the shoe, leaving the heel free.

The Indians invented the baby frame which serves the same purpose as our baby carriages. The illustration shows one empty frame, and another containing an image, to show how the frame looks when occupied. The frame is made of wood, and is about two feet long, and from twelve to fourteen inches wide. The foot board was sometimes handsomely carved. There is a wooden bow over the top to keep the clothing from smothering the baby when it is completely covered. In going from place to place the baby frame was strapped on the mother's back, and when the mother was at work the frame was hung from some support. It is said that the Indian babies would spend hours in these frames without complaint. Some of the frames were beautifully ornamented, and the clothing was sometimes very rich, though generally everything was as plain and simple as possible.

No. 6 in the illustration on page 119 is a baby frame which is of special interest because it is the one in which Ely Parker, the noted Seneca Indian, who served on General Grant's staff, passed his babyhood. This picture also shows several styles of moccasins and the elm bark fibre from which ropes were made. The moccasin is an invention that does the Indian much credit. It is far easier for the feet than most of the shoes which we wear. It is made of a single piece of skin with seams at the top and heel only.

Perhaps the most remarkable skill displayed by the Indians was in the making of spear and arrow heads from flint, with only stones for instruments. They also made tomahawks, battle axes, knives, chisels, and gouges, from stone, many of them being made from flint. Most of their pipes were of a kind of black pottery, though some of them were made of soap stone.

The Iroquois used two kinds of war clubs, one, that shown in the cut, of wood, about two feet in length, having at the end

a ball four or five inches in diameter. The other form of club had a sharp pointed bit of deer's horn, about four inches long, near the end of the club. In later clubs iron or steel was substituted for deer's horn. The war club gave way to the tomahawk, as the bow and arrow were replaced by the rifle. The tomahawk is not an Indian invention, though a favorite weapon. The stone tomahawk was made by cutting a deep groove in the stone head and fastening it to a wooden handle by means of withes or thongs. The metal tomahawk was usually made of steel, though sometimes iron or brass was used. The handle of the tomahawk was often handsomely ornamented; sometimes carved, sometimes inlaid with silver. The blade was often inlaid with silver, and frequently surmounted with a pipe bowl.

The Indians became very skilful in the use of the tomahawk. It was their emblem of war. They spoke of raising the hatchet, instead of declaring war; and of burying the hatchet, rather than of making peace.

The illustration on page 123 shows a very old Indian bow and a quiver of arrows, also a bow and arrows of more modern make, though the latter are the style of one hundred and fifty years ago. The Indian bow was from three to four feet in length, usually made of hickory, and so stiff that great strength was required to use it. It would send an arrow with force sufficient to kill deer and other large animals. Indian skeletons have been found in which the skull had been pierced with an arrow head. The arrows were about three feet long, tipped with horn, bone, or flint, most frequently the latter, and feathered at the small end, the feathers sometimes being arranged in a spiral to make the arrow revolve in its flight and so secure greater accuracy.

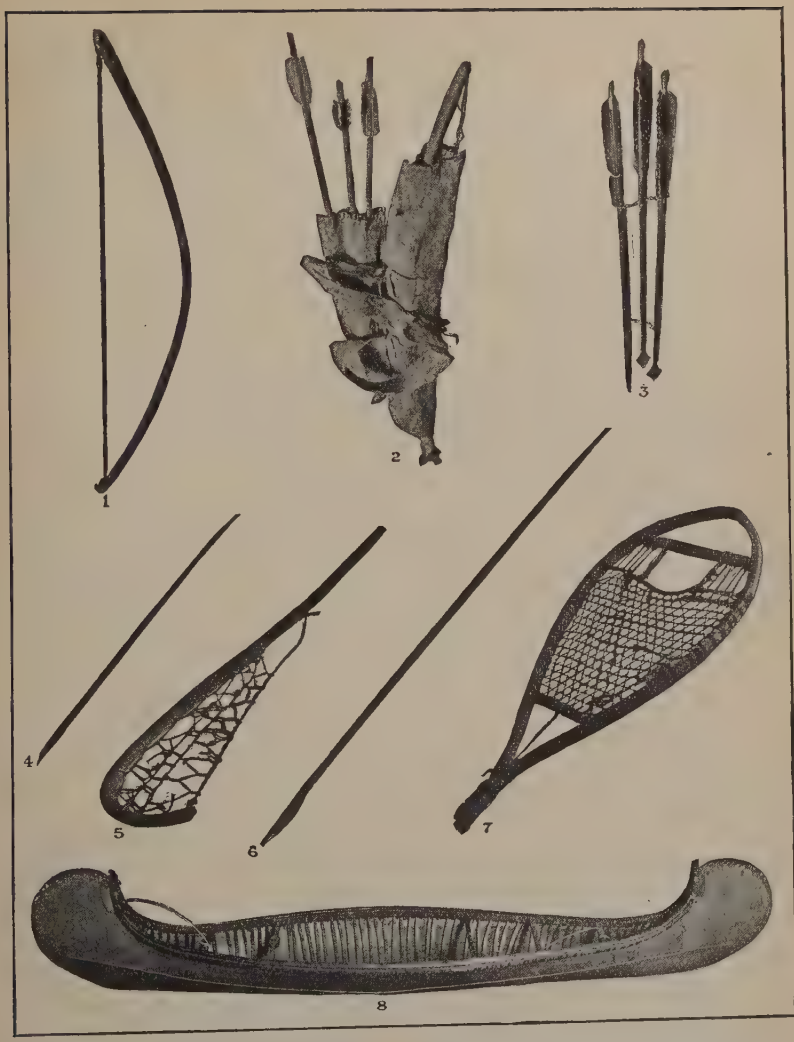
Among the other inventions of the Indians was a large two-handed wooden pounder for grinding corn.

The Indians, like all other primitive people, had rude means for starting fire. They used a fire drill which Morgan describes as

follows: "It consisted of an upright shaft, about four feet in length, an inch in diameter, with a small wheel set upon the lower part to give it momentum. In a notch at the top of the shaft was set a string, attached to a bow about three feet in length. The lower point rested upon a block of dry wood, near which were placed small pieces of punk. When ready to use, the string is first coiled round the shaft by turning it with the hand. The bow is then pulled downwards thus uncoiling the string, and revolving the shaft toward the left. By the momentum given to the wheel, the string is again coiled up and in a reverse manner the bow is again drawn up." This action was repeated again and again and in a short time sparks were produced. The motion of this drill was produced on the same principle as that of a little toy formerly used by boys, which consisted of a circular disk of tin or other metal having two holes in it, one a little each side of the centre. A string was passed through these holes and the ends tied together. Taking the string in each hand, with the disk between them, motion was produced by turning the disk round and round till the string was thoroughly twisted, then the hands were thrown far apart and immediately brought toward each other again, and this motion was repeated continually, the string twisting and untwisting with each reversed movement causing the disk to revolve rapidly.

INDIAN GAMES

The Indians were great gamblers and very fond of games. It was no uncommon thing for an Indian to lose his tomahawk, ornaments, blankets, and all his other possessions in games of chance. The games, however, were not usually played between individuals, but between one nation and another, one clan and another, or one village and another. They were sometimes between men and women. The Indians would come for miles to witness these contests. Their games were of two general classes, athletic, and games of chance. The former included running, leaping, wrestling, ball, etc.



1. BOW; 2. BOW CASE AND QUIVER; 3. ARROWS; 4. JAVELIN; 5. LACROSSE STICK; 6. SNOW SNAKE; 7. SNOW SHOE; 8. BIRCH BARK CANOE.

Ball, as played by the Indians, was similar to our modern game of lacrosse. Thowing the javelin was a popular game. It consisted in trying to throw the javelin, a wooden instrument made of hickory or ash, through a wooden ring as it was rolled rapidly past the player. The ring was about eight inches in diameter. The javelin was about five or six feet long, and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The ring was rolled past the holder of the javelin at some little distance from him, and as it was quite small and rolled very rapidly it took a good eye and a quick hand to pass the javelin through it.

Deer Buttons was a fireside game which was played with eight circular deer horn buttons about an inch in diameter and one-eighth of an inch in thickness, having bevelled edges. One side of the buttons was white and the other black. The Indians threw the deer buttons much as we throw dice. Each player continued his play as long as he made any count. They began the game with a pool of from one to three hundred beans as counters. Each player drew from the pool as he made points. When the pool was exhausted the game was finished and the winner was the one who had the most beans. Eight buttons were used. If all came up the same color, no matter which, the thrower drew twenty beans; if seven were of one color, the count was four, while six of the same color counted one. Less than six of one color did not count at all.

The game of peach stones was played in a similar manner, save that the stones instead of being thrown from the hand were put into a wooden bowl which was struck on the ground with sufficient force to cause the stones to rebound. The peach stones were ground to a flattened form and one side blackened. This game was sometimes used to foretell the harvest, in which case the men played against the women. If the women won, the ears of corn would be short and the harvest poor, but if the men were the winners it signified a bounteous harvest and ears of corn of unusual length. The illustration on page 117 shows a wooden bowl used for playing the

game of peach stones. It is made from a black walnut gnarl. It would seem that the game of peach stones did not involve any skill, but such was not the case. Some players were marvellously skilful and seemed to be able to make the stones come up almost as they wished.

The snow snake was a winter game, the snake being a wooden rod from five to seven feet long, and about a fourth of an inch in thickness, with the larger end turned up. The game was to see who could send it over the snow for the greatest distance. An expert player could slide it a distance of sixty or eighty rods.

The Indians excelled in the foot race, it being both an amusement and an accomplishment of great practical value.

Among the other games of the Indians were blind man's buff, fox and geese, a game played in the snow, and interlocking violets, the latter played only by the children. This is an amusement with which most country children are familiar. The Indians decided who should be the first to bat at a game of ball by one tossing up the club and the other catching it with one hand, then alternately putting above first the hand of one player, then the other, the last one who was able to hold the club being the batter. This practice is general with white boys.

WAMPUM

The use of wampum was an important feature of Indian life. It was used for ornament, for money, as a token of condolence, as a badge of authority, and for council purposes. While some of the early wampum was made of colored wood, or quills, and much at various times was made from different kinds of shells, most of that which we ordinarily meet with was made from the hard shell clam. The wampum is of two colors, white and black, the so-called black being really a dark purple. The black was twice as valuable as the white.

The wampum was made in the form of tubes or beads strung on fibres of bark or the sinews of deer. It was also made into belts by covering one side of a strip of deer skin with wampum beads arranged in various patterns or devices. The belts were much more highly prized than the strings. A full string of wampum is usually three feet long. A belt four or five feet long and four inches wide would contain several thousand beads.

In general, the white wampum was symbolical of purity, peace, victory, and all that was good and desirable, while the purple was indicative of death, war, or evil tidings. There were, however, many exceptions to this general rule.

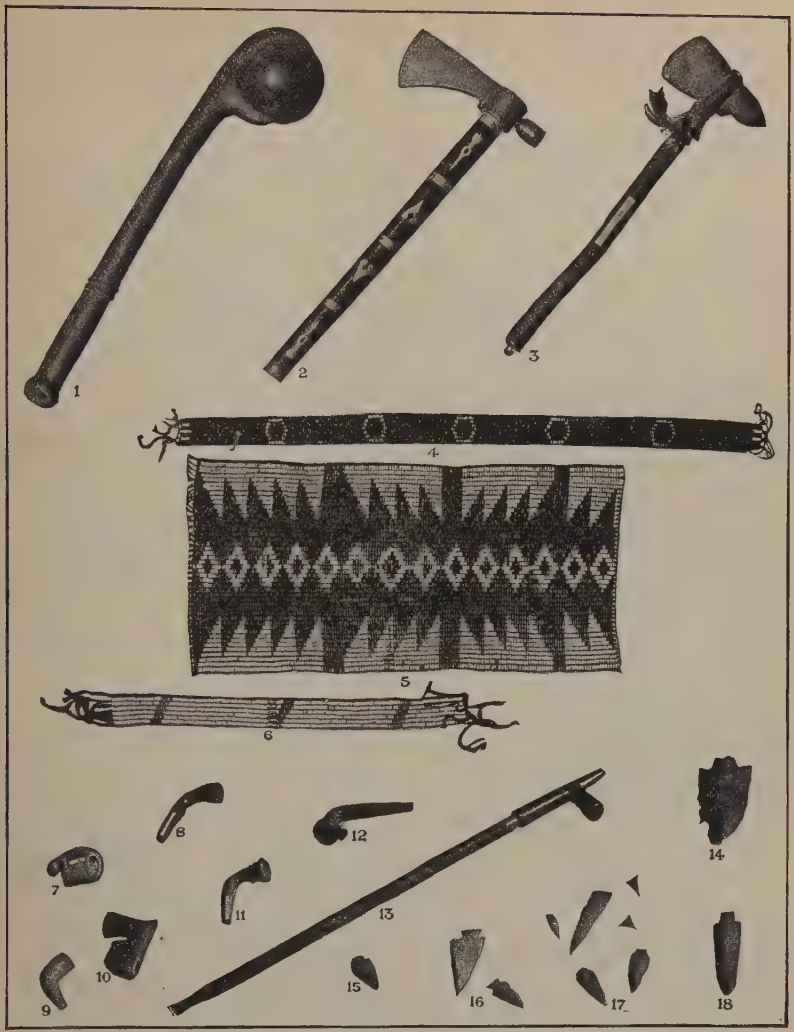
When treaties were made with the Indians many speeches were made by each side, and these speeches were accompanied with gifts of wampum belts. Any fact that it was desired to make impressive was emphasized by the presentation of a belt of wampum.

Each of the Iroquois nations had its own special string of wampum, distinguished by the number of the strings and the arrangement of colors. The Six Nations were represented by strings of purple wampum. These strings were united at one end, and the free ends were ornamented with tufts of bright merino. At the opening of a council these strings were laid upon a table, or on the ground, with the free ends radiating from the centre like the spokes of a wheel.

The Mohawks were represented by six strings of wampum, two purple beads alternating with one of white.

The Cayugas were represented by six strings made wholly of purple beads. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras were each represented by seven strings made almost wholly of purple beads. The Onondagas were represented by four strings having two purple beads to one of white. The Senecas were represented by four strings having alternately two white and two purple beads.

A double string of forty-eight alternate white and purple beads indicated the death of a good chief.



1, WAR CLUB; 2 AND 3, TOMAHAWKS; 4, 5, AND 6, WAMPUM BELTS; 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 AND 13, PIPES; 14, 15, 16, 17 AND 18, ARROW AND SPEAR HEADS.

Two strands of eighteen beads each, all but four purple, were used in raising a chief.

Eight strings were used in the confession of sins at a feast.

When a chief died runners were sent out to the other nations bearing strings of wampum, the kind of strings showing the relative rank of the chief.

Strings of wampum served as credentials. They were, so to speak, letters of introduction and badges of authority.

In 1648 Massachusetts made wampum legal tender to the amount of forty shillings. It was accepted in lieu of money in several of the other colonies.

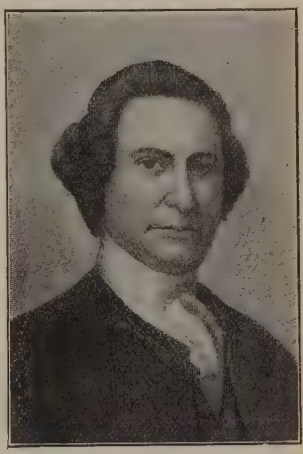
Much regarding the Iroquois will be given in the sketches of Sir William Johnson and Joseph Brant and are therefore better omitted from this article. The following extract from Alfred Street's metrical romance "Frontenac" will be enjoyed if the reader remembers the names of the various clans, and the other tribes with whom the Iroquois were engaged in war.

"The fierce Adirondacks had fled from their wrath,
The Hurons been swept from their merciless path.
Around, the Ottawas, like leaves, had been strown,
And the lake of the Eries struck silent and lone.
The Lenape, lords once of valley and hill,
Made women, bend low at their conqueror's will.
By the far Mississippi the Illini shrank
When the trail of the Tortoise was seen on the bank.
On the hills of New England the Pequod turned pale
When the howl of the Wolf swelled at night on the gale.
And the Cherokee shook, in his green smiling bowers,
When the foot of the Bear stamped his carpet of flowers."

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

1715–1774

In telling the story of the Iroquois Confederacy much regarding the life and influence of this people was omitted, as it could be given best in connection with the story of the life of Sir William Johnson, it being so closely related with his work as to be most fittingly and effectively told in this way. To many, probably the majority, of the readers of this sketch Sir William Johnson is only a name, yet he was one of the very ablest men who lived in this country previous to the Revolution; perhaps no other in his time so largely influenced the fortunes of our state.



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON
From a Portrait in the Library of the New York Historical Society

He was born at Warrenpoint, County Down, Ireland, in 1715. His father, Christopher Johnson, was an officer in a regiment of heavy cavalry. His mother, Anne Warren, was a sister of Sir Peter Warren of the Royal Navy. Johnson's parents wished him to enter the army, but he preferred the law and began his studies which he pursued until he was ready to take his examination for admission to the bar, but at that time his uncle made him a business proposition which changed the whole course of his life.

This incident is told of his boyhood. When he was eleven years old he and his mother visited his uncle, Sir Peter, who made

at that time the following entry in his journal: "Visiting me Mistress Nancy Johnson, with her young Son, William, aged eleven. William is a Spritely Boy, well grown, of good parts, Keen Wit but Most Onruly and Streperous! I see in him the Makings of a Strong Man. Shall keep my Wether Eye on this lad!"

MANAGER OF HIS UNCLE'S ESTATE

About 1733 Sir Peter Warren purchased a large tract of land on the south side of the Mohawk River, a little to the west of the present city of Schenectady. By 1737 it had so increased in value and importance that it needed to be looked after, so Warren offered the management of the estate to his nephew. Young Johnson gladly accepted the offer and abandoned the idea of practising law. Sir Peter gave his nephew power of attorney "to buy and sell or lease real estate, to incur debts or pay demands, and in all respects to do all things in the name of Peter Warren, the same and with equal validity and binding force as if the said Peter Warren had done them with his own hand and under his own seal."

Johnson started for his new field of labor and reached New York in December, 1737. He spent the winter in that city with his aunt, the wife of Sir Peter. She was the daughter of Stephen DeLancey, one of the wealthiest merchants of the city. The family belonged to the most refined and aristocratic circles, and Johnson formed acquaintances at that time which were of great value to him in after life.

It was in the spring of 1834 that Johnson reached his uncle's estate and took charge of affairs. He founded a settlement which the Dutch called Warrensbush, and the English Warrensburgh. The hamlet has long since ceased to exist. Sir Peter's property was in the heart of the Mohawk country. Nearly all the whites there were Dutch. Johnson was expected to make the estate profitable by acting as trader, farmer, and to some extent manufacturer. To do this he needed to know his neighbors thoroughly and to be able

to speak their language fluently. He bent all his energies to this task, and at the end of two years he was able, not merely to speak the Dutch and Indian languages, but he did it so well that he could act as interpreter on any occasion. This gave him a great advantage over his Dutch competitors. He not only knew the language of the Indians but he had become acquainted with their ways, manners, modes of thinking, and character, to a degree never excelled, if equalled, by any other white man. He was one of the very few whites who were always honorable in their dealings with the Indians, the only one in his section at that time. Because of this his influence with them was almost unbounded and continued to be so till the day of his death. This influence he always used for the advantage of the English. It is not too much to say that on several occasions it was solely through his ability to control the Six Nations that they were kept from open warfare against the English.

Young Johnson was active in developing his uncle's property and in guarding its interests. He saw that it would not be profitable to keep the estate together as a whole, and won from Sir Peter a somewhat reluctant permission to sell off farms, instead of letting the land on long leases as was then the custom in European countries. In the dozen years following the beginning of Johnson's management of the estate, about two-thirds of the grant was sold off in farms of from one hundred and fifty to three hundred acres each. At the death of Sir Peter in 1752 Johnson acquired possession of the remainder.

MAKING A HOME

Parkman says Johnson was born to prosper, being ambitious, energetic, strong, and jovial. He was quick-witted, genial, and honorable in all his business affairs. He possessed great powers of adaptability, being equally at home with the Mohawk Indians, the Dutch farmers, and the Royal governors.

He remained at Warrensburg for five years, but he never in-

tended to make his permanent home there, nor did he intend to spend his life as an agent managing an estate for another.

During the first two years of his residence on his uncle's estate Johnson lived in a rude log hut. He spent most of his winters in hunting and trapping with the Indians. He lived their life, sat at their council fires, and joined in their sports. Any Mohawk was welcome at his hut any hour of the day or night, and the same thing was true when he came to occupy his house at Akin.

About two years after taking charge of his uncle's estate, Johnson bought a tract of several thousand acres of land on the north side of the Mohawk, a little to the west of the present city of Amsterdam, at a place now known as Akin. He immediately began the erection of a large stone mansion which was sometimes called "Mount Johnson" and sometimes "Fort Johnson." The house is still standing and is in a good state of preservation. It is only a few rods from the track of the Central Railroad, and can be seen by passengers sitting on the right side of the car when going west. It was at this house that Johnson held many of his councils with the Indians.

Soon after building his house at Akin, Johnson erected a saw mill and a grist mill on the stream near by.

While managing his uncle's estate he had built up a large business sending furs to London, and flour to the West Indies and Halifax. His trade with the Indians was very profitable. He had so won their confidence and esteem by his honorable dealings with them that he always had the first choice of the furs they had to sell and he received at their hands many favors that were not granted to others. They all liked and trusted him. Thirty years later, at Johnson's grave, a Mohawk sachem said "Sir William Johnson never deceived us."

Johnson's early life in this country was in no way remarkable, but he was preparing himself for the work which the coming years were to bring to him. While he was so successfully managing his

uncle's estate he was also developing his own and he became a man of large means for those times.

Soon after occupying his new house at Akin he married Catherine Weisenburg, a plain country German girl, greatly his inferior, socially and intellectually, but they seem to have lived together happily. She died some years later leaving a son and two daughters.

MOUNT JOHNSON

The son was the Sir John Johnson who was so active in the Mohawk valley during the Revolution, and one of the daughters married her cousin, Sir Guy Johnson. These two men are not likely to be forgotten as long as the history of the Mohawk valley is remembered. For a vivid picture of the times in which they figured so prominently one can hardly do better than to read Harold Frederic's "In the Valley."

All through his life Sir William was noted for the energy with which he went at any task. His work at Akin gives some idea of

this characteristic of his. Within two years from the time he purchased the property he had cleared over five hundred acres of land, constructed a large dam, erected a saw mill capable of cutting fifteen hundred feet of lumber in a day, and built a flouring mill, besides erecting a fine stone mansion, so well built that now, one hundred and sixty years later, it is still a very creditable building. All this work was done in a wild, uncultivated and unsettled country. To accomplish this he brought over from Ireland about sixty families. He paid their expenses over and had comfortable log cabins ready for them on their arrival.

After the death of his wife, Johnson lived with the daughter of the Mohawk chief Abraham. She died after a few years and from that time till his death Johnson lived with Molly Brant, an older sister of Joseph Brant. He never married her, though there is no question but that both Molly Brant and the Mohawks thought the relation a lawful one, and it is probable that it was in accordance with Indian laws and customs.

Molly Brant was a very remarkable woman. She does not seem to have appeared at a disadvantage under any circumstances, though she was often thrown in contact with men and women of the highest social standing. Sir William always treated her with the greatest respect and insisted that every one else should do the same.

There was much in the life of Sir William that would not be tolerated to-day, and the same is true of nearly every one who lived in his time. Customs have changed and if we are to judge him fairly we need to remember the times in which he lived, and the circumstances in which he was placed. It is quite probable that his life was determined in many ways by considerations of public policy, as the well-being of the English in this colony depended very largely upon the attitude of the Iroquois, and that in turn depended, at times, almost wholly upon the influence of Sir William over them; therefore, a Mohawk woman presiding over his household would enable him to keep in closer touch with the Indians than

would otherwise be possible. Mr. Reid, the author of "The Mohawk Valley," believes that Sir William was actuated by such considerations in his relations with Molly Brant.

Sir William was always very active in looking after the interests of the Indians. He found that the Indian traders cheated them shamefully and that this was primarily due to the inefficiency of the Board of Commissioners. There was no system in their management. Any one who was in favor with the Commissioners or who would pay the small license fee required could obtain a permit to trade with the Indians. No attempt was made to ascertain the character of the applicant. As a perfectly natural consequence the Indian trade had fallen almost wholly into the hands of disreputable and unprincipled men who had no regard either for law or for common honesty. The Board of Indian Commissioners was made up of five men. In 1743 Governor Clinton appointed Johnson a member of this board, and with this appointment his public life began, and it is with that we are chiefly concerned. At this time the law provided that at least one member of the Indian Board must be a clergyman.

The clerical member at the time of Johnson's appointment was a resident of New York, and he neither knew nor cared much about Indian affairs. He resigned soon after Johnson became a member of the board and the Governor appointed in his place Johnson's father-in-law, the Reverend Jacob Weisenburg.

Mr. Weisenburg had lived among the Indians for a long time and was much beloved by them, so that now they had two of their friends to look after their interests, but a majority of the board was still of the old type. However, another member of the board soon resigned, and in his place the Governor appointed Reverend Mr. Van Ness of Albany. This appointment gave Johnson a working majority on the board and enabled him to institute reforms in the management of the Indian affairs. Dishonest traders were dismissed, the sale of liquor to the Indians forbidden, and missions

and mission schools established. At one time there were twenty-six men in the jail at Albany serving sentences of various lengths for the violation of the Indian anti-liquor law. In 1744 Johnson wrote Governor Clinton as follows:

"You can make a pretty good and generally faithful fellow of an Indian by simply treating him fairly in business matters and helping him along now and then when his natural indolence or improvidence or bad luck has brought him to straits. But you can never completely depend upon him or overcome the inherent fickleness of his nature until you have made a Christian of him and brought him thereby under that sense of personal responsibility, not only to men but to the Almighty, which religion teaches. Either in war or in peace one Christian Indian is always worth two heathen ones."

IN PUBLIC LIFE

Johnson was so successful as a member of the Indian Board that the Governor soon gave him complete control of the Indian affairs of the colony. He was an ideal man for the position, not only well fitted for it by nature, but his training had been just that needed to enable him to deal wisely with the Indians. No other man in the colony knew them as well as he did. He knew their language, their lives, their habits, their wishes, their strength and their weakness. Could he have been unhampered there would have been no serious Indian troubles, but the vacillating policy of the British government on the one hand, and the jealousies existing between the Governor and the Assembly on the other, made Johnson's position one of constant embarrassment. This lack of concord in the colony, and the growing antipathy to the rule of Great Britain, prevented Johnson from receiving much support in his efforts. While the Assembly seemed to have confidence in him personally, it was not disposed to support his measures on account of his being the Governor's appointee.

In order to keep the Six Nations loyal to the English it was necessary to conform to their customs in a large degree. Frequent councils must be held. At these meetings speeches must be made,

belts of wampum given as pledges, and presents made as tokens of friendship. The Indians had to be provided with arms and ammunition for their various expeditions. All these expenditures were made by Johnson acting as Indian Commissioner. They were legitimate expenses, and as things were managed in those days, absolutely necessary. No one questioned the propriety of Johnson's acts, yet the Assembly refused to reimburse him.

At this time the Mohawks became very sullen toward the English and it required all the skill of Johnson to restore friendly feelings. It was then that Johnson began his life with Molly Brant. He became an Indian with the Indians. He assumed their garb, joined in their games, and lived among them as one of their own people. He so won their favor that they adopted him into their nation and gave him the rank of a war-chief. As such he assembled them at festivals, appointed war dances, and joined in their orgies.

Notwithstanding his great services, and his popularity with the Six Nations, the Assembly refused to repay him the sums he had advanced, and finally, when the amount had reached £2,000, Johnson was forced to resign in order to avoid becoming bankrupt.

In June, 1748, Governor Clinton appointed Johnson Colonel-in-Chief of Albany county, and when it is remembered that at that time Albany county included all of the present state of Vermont and all of what now constitutes the state of New York to the west and north of Dutchess and Ulster counties, it will be seen that the appointment was an important one, not alone because of the great extent of territory involved, but even more because it was the theatre of all the Indian wars of the colony at that time. Johnson effected a county military re-organization that lasted till the time of the Revolution. Five regiments and twelve separate companies were organized. A military road was built from the head of Lake George to Glens Falls on the Hudson River, and another road from the head of Lake Champlain to Fort Anne, from which point there was already a road to Sandy Hill on the Hudson.

The apparent indifference of the English, added to the movements of the French in the Ohio valley, finally so aroused the Six Nations that King Hendrick, of the Mohawks, went to New York to see the Governor. He announced that the Six Nations had broken with the English, and expressed his utter lack of faith in the Assembly, closing his remarks with these words: "Look about your country and see: you have no fortifications about you; no, not even in this city! Look at the French; they are men; they are fortifying everywhere, but, we are ashamed to say it, you are all like women, bare and open without any fortifications."

The Governor sent copies of this speech to the Assembly. They were so badly frightened that they requested the Governor to call a council at Albany, and to appoint Colonel Johnson to go in haste to the Indians and arrange to have them attend. This was done. The Indians, who had been greatly dissatisfied ever since Johnson had resigned as Indian Commissioner, received him joyfully, and agreed to attend the council at such time as the Governor chose to call it, "but," said King Hendrick, "we would not have moved a foot for any other man than you."

War between France and England had not been declared at the opening of the year 1755, but it was evident that peace could not long continue. In the west the French had occupied and fortified territory that was claimed by the English. Braddock was on his way to America with two regiments of troops, and the French had sent Baron Dieskau to Canada with a large body of men. There had also been a conflict upon the sea which resulted in the capture of two French vessels.

The Governor of the colony of New York called the Assembly together and reminded it of the utterly defenceless condition of the whole northern frontier, and of Albany and New York as well. The fears of the Assembly outweighed their jealousies and they promptly voted the funds needed to make provision for the expected conflict. The Mohawks complained to Colonel Johnson that there

were no fortifications in their territory and asked for aid in the matter. Their communication was presented to the Assembly which directed the Governor to appoint Colonel Johnson to make investigations and take such steps as he found to be necessary to provide adequate defence.

In the meantime General Braddock arrived in this country. For the purpose of consultation he called together the governors of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Two other eminent men, Benjamin Franklin and Sir William Johnson, met with them. Four expeditions were planned. Governor Lawrence was to reduce Nova Scotia; Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was to expel the French from Niagara; Braddock was to recover the Ohio valley; while Johnson was to capture Crown Point. All these expeditions, save that of Johnson, were utter failures, and his was only partially successful.

Braddock made Johnson a Major General, and appointed him Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the whole of British North America. He was given full power to treat with the Indians, and allowed £2,000 for necessary expenses.

Johnson's first act was to send belts of wampum to all the Indian castles to announce his appointment as Superintendent of Indian Affairs and summon a grand council to meet at his home at Mount Johnson. The Indians were urged to assemble at the earliest day possible. The news that Johnson was again in charge of their affairs spread like wildfire among the Indians. In a short time more than eleven hundred Indians, men, women, and children, were at Johnson's home. Never before had so many met in a council with the whites. It taxed Johnson's resources to the utmost to furnish means for the entertainment of such a multitude.

Johnson addressed the Indians, explaining the purpose of the various expeditions, and asked for a thousand picked Iroquois warriors to accompany him against Crown Point. They were promised him, and their leader was to be King Hendrick. In addition

to the Indians, Johnson was to have troops from New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. Altogether his force was to consist of four thousand five hundred men.

There were many vexatious delays, and jealousies caused much trouble. Massachusetts furnished more men than any of the other colonies and therefore felt that the chief command should be given to a man from that state rather than to one from New York. Besides this, Governor Shirley succeeded in diverting to his expedition against Niagara many of the Iroquois who were promised to Johnson.

Early in August, Colonel Lyman, who commanded the troops from Massachusetts, and was second in command of the expedition, reached the falls in the Hudson at what was known as "the great carrying place." This was about fifteen miles from the head of Lake George, and somewhat farther from the head of Lake Champlain, in either case a long distance for a " carry," whence the name. Here Lyman erected a fort which he named Fort Edward, in honor of a brother of the King. There is now a thriving village of several thousand inhabitants at this place. Johnson joined Lyman a few days later, but instead of a thousand Iroquois he had only about two hundred and fifty. Others came later, but in all not over five hundred Indians took part in this expedition. Among the number were the venerable King Hendrick, nearly eighty years of age, and Joseph Brant, then a lad of thirteen.

Johnson reached Lake George on the 28th of August with thirty-four hundred men, having left Lyman at Fort Edward with a small force to await the arrival of some belated troops. Although Lakes George and Champlain had long been the route for all communication between Canada and New York, the shores of Lake George were an unbroken wilderness at this time. Not a building of any kind had ever been erected there nor a foot of land cleared. At the head of the lake was a bluff with low swampy land on either side of it. Here Johnson built a fort which he called Fort William

Henry in honor of another brother of the King. The lake which for more than a hundred years had borne the name Lake Saint Sacrament, given it by Father Jogues, was re-named Lake George in honor of the King.

Fort William Henry was on the site now occupied by the Fort

WEST DITCH OF FORT WILLIAM HENRY

William Henry Hotel. Remains of the old earthworks are still prominent.

Colonel Lyman soon followed Johnson, bringing with him all the heavy artillery, but leaving at Fort Edward five New York companies, and about two hundred and fifty New England troops.

It was Johnson's plan to erect a fort at Lake George and hold it till he could build a fleet of boats to carry his forces to Ticonderoga, where he planned to erect another fort so as to protect the country from invasions from the north in case he failed to capture Crown Point.

The French, however, did not wait for him; but Dieskau with a force of about sixteen hundred men, made up of Indians, Canadian militia, and French regulars, went up Lake Champlain nearly to its head. From this point it was his intention to march across the country to Fort Edward and capture it, then attack Johnson in the rear, and after defeating him, as he fully expected to do, march on Albany. The plan was well conceived, but the country through which he marched was densely wooded, and he failed to keep the proper direction. When he reached a place where it was sufficiently open for him to know just where he was, he found himself only a few miles from Lake George, instead of near Fort Edward. In the meantime Johnson had learned of his movements and had sent a courier to warn the garrison at Fort Edward, but this messenger was captured by Dieskau who was thus informed as to the whole situation. After some consultation the French decided to attack Johnson, who had in the meantime determined to reinforce Fort Edward. Johnson proposed to send out twelve hundred men in three detachments. King Hendrick opposed this vigorously, saying that the whole force should be together so as to be stronger, illustrating his idea by taking three sticks which he could not break all together, but did it easily when he took one at a time. He also insisted that the force was too small. He said, "If they are to fight they are too few, if they are to be killed they are too many."

The relieving force started in three detachments as planned, Colonel Williams being in charge of the advance. After going about two miles Williams waited till the other detachments came up. The whole body then moved on, unsuspicious of danger. Though they knew the enemy was not many miles away no skirmishers were thrown out. No scouts went in advance. Dieskau had learned of the movement and had planned an ambuscade about four miles from the lake. The English blindly entered it, but before all were in the trap some one accidentally fired a shot which was taken as the signal for action and the slaughter began. King Hen-

drick fell at the first volley, and Colonel Williams was killed early in the action. A monument to the memory of Colonel Williams has been erected on the spot where he fell by the alumni of Williams College. The provincials fell back to a small pond where they checked the French. They were joined at this point by Lieutenant-Colonel Cole whom Johnson had sent out with three hundred men as soon as he heard the firing. The English retreated to the fort at the lake. Johnson's whole army was greatly demoralized,

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BLOODY POND

and had Dieskau quickly followed up his advantage it is quite probable that he would have won a complete victory, but neither his Indians nor the militia could be persuaded to attack Johnson's works, insignificant as they were; and by the time the regulars, who were in the rear, had come up, order had been restored in the army of the colonials, and several cannon had been placed in a position to resist an attack from the land side. A bloody fight followed. The greater part of the regulars were killed, and both Johnson and Dieskau were wounded. The French being repulsed retreated, and in doing so met Captain McGinnis near the point where the fight first began. McGinnis had been on a scout and on hearing the firing he led his forces to the aid of Johnson

and came upon the scene just in time to meet the French on their retreat. The French were completely routed and fled, leaving their arms and much of their clothing, so utterly were they demoralized. Tradition says that those killed in this fight were not buried but were thrown into a little pond near by, and that its waters were reddened by the blood of the slain. However that may be, the little body of water is still known as "Bloody Pond."

The Iroquois were so incensed at their losses, especially on account of the death of King Hendrick, that they were determined to kill Dieskau, who had been taken prisoner. But for the firmness and activity of Johnson there might have been enacted, on a lesser scale, a shameful scene like that which forever tarnishes the reputation of Montcalm. Because of the very heavy losses the action of this day is spoken of as "The Bloody Morning Scout."

Johnson has been blamed, and perhaps justly so, for not following up his success by an attack on Crown Point. General Lyman was very strongly in favor of an advance movement. The two months after the fight with Dieskau were spent in building a fort at Lake George. Early in December Johnson resigned his commission and disbanded the greater part of his army, leaving only six hundred men to garrison Fort William Henry.

For the victory at Lake George, Parliament voted Johnson £5,000, and the King made him a baronet.

Johnson, who had had much trouble with Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, over the question of the management of the Indians, received from the home government, in 1756, his commission as Colonel, Agent, and Sole Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for the Six Nations and the other northern Indians, and each northern province was forbidden to transact any business with the Indians. This left Johnson, for the first time, absolutely free from interference.

During the winter of 1758-59 plans were made for an invasion of Canada, and an expedition was fitted out against Niagara. Gen-

FORT OSWEGO

eral Amherst recommended Johnson for the command of this force, but the British ministry thought it should be led by a regular army officer, so General Prideaux was given the command and Sir William was next in rank. The army reached Niagara on the 6th of July. It was made up of about twenty-two hundred white troops and not far from a thousand Indians, the latter under the immediate command of Johnson. Prideaux was killed by the bursting of a small cannon on the 9th of July and the command of the whole force devolved upon Johnson. A force under Colonel d'Aubrey attempted to relieve the fort but was defeated by Johnson, after which the French surrendered.

It is worthy of note as illustrating Johnson's influence over the Indians, that with à force of nearly a thousand savages, nearly half of which was made up of Senecas and Cayugas, at that time the most savage of all the Six Nations, not the slightest effort was made to violate, in any way, the articles of capitulation, notwithstanding the fact that the Indians had lost many of their braves, including two popular chiefs.

In the spring of 1760, Sir William, with seventeen hundred and fifty Indians, joined in the movement against Montreal. Here again he controlled his force so perfectly that there was no ground for criticism as to the conduct of his Indians. This campaign ended the French war. Sir William paid his Indians and disbanded them at Oswego, a place of much historic interest, but one which we shall have but little occasion to mention in this book. Oswego was the scene of several conflicts and passed from the possession of the English to the French and back again more than once.

This campaign ended the military career of Sir William Johnson, but the result of this was greatly to enlarge his duties as General Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Now he had not only to look after the Iroquois, but all the Indian tribes of the west and north-west. He urged that the change from French to English control should be felt by the Indians as little as possible, that the

French traders, and Catholic missionaries, should not be disturbed in their relation to the Indians. This policy was then adopted and never after changed.

Early in the spring of 1761 Sir William sent trusty Iroquois runners to the Canadian Indians, and to the Indians of the northwest, bearing belts of peace wampum, and messages inviting delegates to meet him at a grand council to be held at Detroit the following August. In response to this invitation Indians from all the important tribes north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi met with him. The council was remarkably successful. There was a series of meetings lasting for eighteen days. But in spite of this successful gathering and every effort that Johnson could put forth the irresponsible and dishonest English traders made so much trouble, and were so unprincipled in their acts, that the outcome was Pontiac's War. The efforts of Sir William prevented an alliance between Pontiac and the Six Nations. Had this alliance been accomplished it is hardly possible that a single settlement west of Albany could have been saved. One shudders to think what might have happened and how narrowly the danger was escaped. Few know now how much the colony owed to Johnson at this time.

THE HOME AT JOHNSTOWN

In 1751 or 1752 Sir William and others secured a large tract of land known as the "Kingsboro Patent," which was located in the vicinity of the present city of Johnstown. Ultimately Johnson bought out his associates and became the sole owner of about twenty-six thousand acres of land, to which he gradually added by further purchases. He cleared large tracts, and built saw mills and a grist mill. He brought to this place a considerable colony of Scotch-Irish and Highland Scotch tenants. About 1760 he decided to build a manor-house on this property, and to make his home there, leaving Mount Johnson to his son John, who had just

become of age. He regarded the new estate as being both more valuable and more important than the old one.

The manor-house at Johnstown, known as Johnson Hall, was built in 1761-62. It is still standing on the outskirts of the city. Originally there were two blockhouses, one on either side of it,

JOHNSON HALL

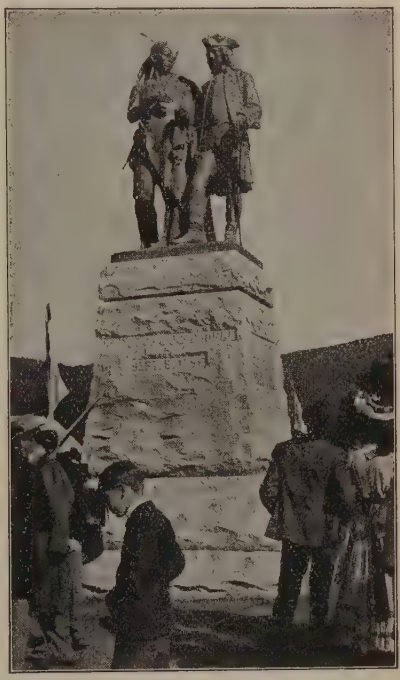
but only one is now standing. At the time of its erection Johnson Hall was the largest and finest mansion west of the Hudson River.

The first Masonic lodge established west of Albany was at Johnstown, and the meetings were held at Johnson Hall, in a back room on the second floor. It was here that Joseph Brant was made a Mason. It is said that the interior of the house is little changed.

Sir William was exceedingly fond of athletic sports and once a year he invited the braves of the Six Nations to Johnson Hall to play Indian games. He also encouraged the old English field sports and appointed "sports-days" at Johnstown for his tenants.

He was fond of boisterous sports and introduced bag-races, burlesque horse races, the catching of greased pigs, and similar amusements. He held an annual fair for the benefit of the surrounding country, giving all the prizes himself.

Johnson spent his closing years at Johnstown which was made the seat of a new county, called Tryon in honor of the colonial governor of that name. Sir William built St. John's Episcopal Church, which has since been twice rebuilt on the same site. The court house and jail, which were erected in 1772, are not only still standing, but are still used for the purpose for which they were built. They were made of brick brought from London. For many years the jail was the only place west of Albany used for the confinement of prisoners.



STATUE OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND KING HENDRICK AT THE STATE PARK AT LAKE GEORGE

Tryon county no longer exists. The patriots hated Governor Tryon and would not have his name perpetuated by having it given to one of the counties of the state, so after the Revolution the county, which was enormously large, was cut up into several smaller ones, no one of which retained the original name.

Johnson's health began to fail in 1770, but he lived till 1774. He foresaw the coming conflict between the colonies and the

mother country and did all that he could to prevent it. There is good reason for believing that his sympathies were with the colonies. There are those who believe that he committed suicide that he might not be forced to choose between the mother country which had so greatly honored him, and the colonies he loved so well. His very sudden death at a time when he was holding a council with the Indians and when it is said he received a sealed parcel from Great Britain are given as reasons for the belief that some hold, but there is no sufficient reason for such an opinion. The war had not yet broken out, and no one could say that it might not in some way be prevented, and more than all there is nothing in the character of Sir William that would lead one to think he would commit suicide in any event. Such action would be wholly inconsistent with all that we know of him.

Johnson lived in a sparsely settled country. At the time of his death all news travelled very slowly, yet so generally was he beloved, and so prominent had he been in the history of our state, that more than two thousand people were present at his funeral, and his pall bearers were the judges of the supreme court of the colony of New York, and the Governor of the colony of New Jersey.

Sir William Johnson was one of the most remarkable men of colonial times. His most pronounced characteristic was his strict integrity. He was a man of great industry, very methodical, and possessed indomitable energy. Few men better deserve the kindly remembrance of their countrymen, and still fewer have done so much toward shaping the destiny of our great state.

A statue in memory of Sir William and King Hendrick has recently been erected on the site of the Lake George Battlefield.

JOSEPH BRANT

THAYENDANEGEA, most commonly known as Joseph Brant, was the son of a full-blooded Mohawk of the Wolf clan, probably a sachem, and very likely one of the five sachems who visited England during the reign of Queen Anne.

To the great majority of people Brant is merely a name synonymous with cruelty. This is an utterly mistaken notion. The Iroquois Confederacy was closely connected with the history of the colony of New York, and after the death of King Hendrick Brant was the ruling spirit of that Confederacy. We ought, therefore, to understand the man.

Before we too severely condemn him, or any Indian, because of cruelties practised, we should forget that the early settlers captured Indians and sold them into slavery; that they brought negroes from Africa and sold them into slavery. We should forget the expeditions of Balboa and Cortez and the horrible treatment of the natives of Mexico and South America. We should forget the cruelties of the whites in all their relations with the Indians in the early days. In fact we should forget much of history. Until we do this it is hardly for us to cast the first stone.

While Brant was an Indian with many of the Indian ideas of warfare—and even with the whites war is not a gentle art—he was not the cruel man he has generally been represented to be. He was far less cruel than many of the Tories. He says that he killed but one man in cold blood and that he always regretted that act.

There has been some question as to Brant's origin. Some have claimed that he was a half-breed, and that he owed his ability to his white blood. There seems to be no other ground for this state-

ment than that he had a much lighter complexion than was usual among the Indians. This may have been due to his manner of living, his training having been such as to lead him to live more in the house and to be much cleaner than the Indians generally were. It has also been claimed that he was not a Mohawk but a Shawanese. This is probably due to the fact that he was born in the Shawanese country. It was customary for the Mohawks to make long hunting trips into the Ohio valley and Brant was born during one of these expeditions.

JOSEPH BRANT

His father dying early his mother married again, and Brant took the name by which he is generally known from his step-father, though that was not his step-father's name, and it is not quite certain how it came to be used. The step-father's name being Bernard or Barnet, it would not be a very great change to call it Brant, as seems to have been done for some reason.

Brant early attracted the attention of Sir William Johnson, who sent him to a school at Lebanon kept by Doctor Wheelock, Connecticut. This school was afterward transferred to Hanover, New Hampshire, and became the foundation of Dartmouth College of which Doctor Wheelock was the first President. It was about 1763 that Brant attended the school at Lebanon.

Brant was tall, muscular, and possessed great endurance. He was inclined to corpulency, had very bright eyes, and a forehead that was broad and low. The portrait shown above is from a painting made by the noted artist Romney at the time of Brant's first visit to England.

Brant, though at that time only thirteen years of age, was with

Sir William Johnson at Lake George and took part in the battle there. In speaking of this battle Brant said he was so scared at first that he had to take hold of a small sapling to keep from falling. He served as a lieutenant at the Battle of Niagara, though only seventeen years old. A year later he acted as captain in the St. Lawrence campaign, in both cases serving under Sir William Johnson. He also took part in the war against the great Ottaway chief Pontiac. The Reverend Mr. Kirkland says of him in that campaign, "He behaved so much like a Christian and a soldier that he gained great esteem."

Brant had three wives. His first wife, whom he married in 1765, was the daughter of an Oneida chief, and the granddaughter of King Hendrick. It is probable that Brant was married according to Indian custom, though his marriage may have been sanctioned by the church, as there were Episcopal missionaries in the valley, and Brant was an Episcopalian.

After his marriage Brant settled at Canajoharie, the middle Mohawk village. Here he had a comfortable home where he often entertained the missionaries who were stationed among the Mohawks.

Brant's first wife died of consumption, a very common disease among the Indians. Afterward he married the half-sister of his first wife. He asked the Episcopal minister to perform the marriage ceremony which he refused to do because the English law then, as now, did not permit a man to marry his deceased wife's sister. Brant's third wife was the half-breed daughter of Colonel Croghan.

In private life Brant was beyond reproach. He was affable and polite in conversation. He possessed the natural sagacity of the Indian and the skill and science of the civilized man.

Brant was Sir William Johnson's secretary for many years, and afterward served his son, Sir John Johnson, in the same capacity. The last words spoken by Sir William were to Joseph Brant. He

said, "Joseph, control your people—control your people! I am going away!"

Brant became supreme in the Six Nations. Just why is not certain. It may have been because one of his wives was the granddaughter of old King Hendrick. It may have been because of the last words of Sir William Johnson. It may have been because of his superior talents, his wisdom as a counsellor, and his skill as a politician. It may have been all of these combined.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Brant was very active in arraying the Six Nations on the side of the English, and in strengthening in every possible way the cause of the loyalists in the Mohawk valley. He tried to secure the removal of Reverend Mr. Kirkland, the missionary, because he feared his influence with the Oneidas, but he failed in this because of the unanimous support which the Oneidas gave to Mr. Kirkland.

While at school at Lebanon Brant became very much attached to Doctor Wheelock, and because of this Mr. Wheelock was asked to use his influence with Brant to induce him to take the part of the colonists in the coming struggle, or at least to remain neutral. He wrote Brant a long letter presenting the case in as strong a light as he was able. In reply Brant said that he "well remembered the happy hours spent at school, and especially the family prayers, and above all how his schoolmaster used to pray that they might be able to live as good *subjects*, to fear God, and *honor the King*." Speaking of his choice of sides in the controversy between the colonies and the mother country Brant said, "When I joined the English at the beginning of the war it was purely on account of my forefathers' engagements with the King. I always looked on those engagements, or contracts, between the King and the Indian nation as a sacred thing; therefore, I was not to be frightened by the threats of rebels at the time."

It is not certain, however, that Brant was not considering first of all the welfare of his own people. Before he had committed

himself beyond recall to the British cause he made a visit to England, very likely to satisfy himself as to the real strength and purpose of the English. At the time he left this country the patriots had invaded Canada and were driving all before them, and it is possible that Brant thought the English prospects were not very bright.

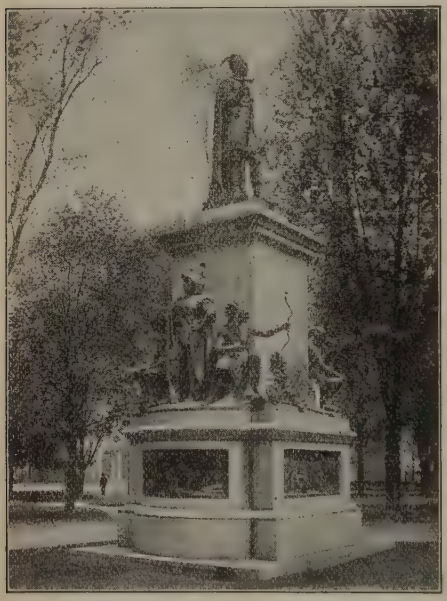
While in England Brant met many noted men, Boswell and the Earl of Warwick being among the number. Before his return Brant had fully committed himself to the English cause and promised to bring to its support three thousand warriors. He returned to this country in time to take part in the battle of The Cedars, where he saved the life of Captain M'Kinstrey, who would have been roasted alive but for Brant's interference. This is one of many incidents showing his humanity.

Brant's part in the Revolution is given quite fully in the article on "Indian Raids and Massacres," and therefore need not be told here. Brant was the Indian hero of the Revolution. He was the principal war chief of the Six Nations, and also held a captain's commission from the British. The Indian forces at the Battle of Oriskany were led by Brant. They suffered so severely in this action that they were greatly dispirited and the Senecas and Cayugas seriously contemplated abandoning the British cause. It taxed to the utmost the skill and resources of Brant to hold these nations loyal to the British.

At the close of the Revolution the British government gave the Mohawks a tract of land in Canada. It was situated on the Grand River which flows into Lake Erie. This river is navigable for large boats for some distance and for smaller ones for many miles farther. The tract granted to Brant and his Mohawk people was six miles wide on each side of the river, from its mouth to its source, in all about twelve hundred square miles of beautiful and fertile land. It was a much smaller territory than they possessed in New York but they were quite content.

Brant made every effort for the moral and religious improve-

ment of his people. He built a church for their use with the money collected for that purpose while in England. This was the first church built in Upper Canada. He also arranged with the British to have a school established, and a flouring mill erected, on the Mohawk territory.



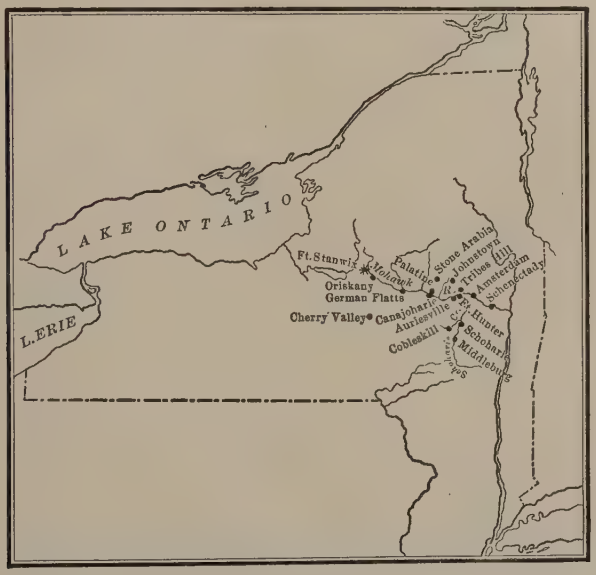
BRANT'S MONUMENT AT BRANTFORD

Not long after settling in Canada Brant went to England for a second time to arrange for the care of his people who had lost everything through their loyalty to the British, but who had not been provided for or even mentioned in the treaty at the close of the Revolution. His mission was fairly successful. He was received with great honor and met such men as the Bishop of London, Charles Fox, and James Boswell. He was a great favorite with the King and the royal family. While in London he translated the Gospel of St. Mark into the Mohawk language, and assisted in getting out a revised edition of the Book of Prayer and Psalms, in the Mohawk tongue.

There was considerable difficulty regarding the British grant to the Mohawks and for some years Brant's time was largely taken up in arranging this matter. He was also concerned with the Western Indians in their relations with the United States.

Brant felt very keenly the bitter hatred with which he was

regarded in after years by his former neighbors in the Mohawk valley. He felt that he had carried on a purely legitimate warfare, and that he was more sinned against than sinning. Now that the lapse of time enables us to see without being blinded by passion or prejudice, it is clear that Brant tried to conduct himself as a high-



MAP OF THE SCHOHARIE AND MOHAWK VALLEYS

minded gentleman should, and that he usually succeeded in doing so. If we are to judge him rightly we need to try to see things, to some extent, from his point of view, and in some measure put ourselves in his place. He denied having committed any act of cruelty during the war, and no case has ever been proved against him, while there are many well authenticated instances of his kindness and mercy.

Brant received a white man's education. He was a member of the Episcopal church and very proud of the relation. His character is shown by his efforts for the upbuilding of his people after they removed to Canada. Two of Brant's sons attended Dartmouth college. Many of his descendants to-day are among the most respectable inhabitants of Canada. One of his sons was a member of the Canadian Colonial Assembly.

Brant died at Brantford, Haldiman county, Upper Canada, on the 24th of November, 1807. Here a monument has been erected to his memory, the memory of the most remarkable Indian of Revolutionary times. A savage far less savage than many white men with whom he was associated during the great struggle between the colonies and the mother country. A man who should be honored, not execrated.

INDIAN RAIDS AND MASSACRES

"The whole confederacy, except a little more than half of the Oneidas, took up arms against us. They hung like the scythe of death upon the rear of our settlements, and their deeds are inscribed with the scalping-knife and the tomahawk, in characters of blood, on the fields of Wyoming and Cherry Valley, and on the banks of the Mohawk."—De Witt Clinton.

No attempt will here be made to give anything like a full account of the Indian raids and massacres on the New York frontier during the Revolution. That would require a large volume. Neither will the sketches given be at all complete. The purpose of this chapter is to give the reader some idea how our forefathers, living on the frontier, suffered during the Revolution, and how strong was the provocation which led to Sullivan's expedition.

The losses of the Iroquois at Oriskany were so severe as to make them desperate and revengeful to an unusual degree even for Indians. Soon after this battle Indians and Tories, under the command of Brant and the Butlers, began to harry the settlements, especially in the Mohawk, Susquehanna, and Schoharie valleys. During the summer of 1778 the Indians and Tories were gathered in force at Oswego and Unadilla, and from these points they made forays during the whole season, meeting with no effective opposition.

COBLESKILL

On the 30th of May, 1778, Brant with three or four hundred men reached Cobleskill, a hamlet about ten miles west of Schoharie, containing nineteen families. A detachment of Colonel Alden's regiment on its way to Cherry Valley attacked Brant, but was

repulsed and sixteen of the number killed. Five or six of the inhabitants were killed, and the houses and barns were burned, but most of the inhabitants escaped to Schoharie. After the raid "horses, cows, sheep, etc., lay dead all over the fields."

Brant went on to Cherry Valley but did not attack the place, because from the hills he saw what he thought were soldiers drilling, but he was deceived by the distance, his supposed soldiers being boys parading with paper caps and wooden arms.

SPRINGFIELD

Springfield was a small settlement at the head of Otsego Lake. It was destroyed by Brant on the 18th of June, 1778. Colonel Klock in reporting this affair to Colonel Clinton said, "Houses, barns, even wagons, and the haycocks in the meadows at Springfield were laid in ashes. Fourteen men were carried away prisoners, and eight were killed. All the provisions were taken on horses and carried off. Two hundred creatures (horses and cattle chiefly) were driven down the Susquehanna."

Brant did not carry away the women and children, but gathered them all together in one house and left them. All the other buildings were burned. After this Brant destroyed Andrustown and other settlements near Otsego Lake.

WYOMING

The beautiful and fertile valley of Wyoming on the Susquehanna was the scene of one of the most horrible of all the Indian massacres. Though not in the state of New York it is so closely associated with the Indian massacres in that state that its story is a part of the whole sad history.

The population of the valley was not far from five thousand. Nearly all the men capable of bearing arms were away when the attack was made. There was a stockade at Wyoming called Forty

Fort. When it was learned that Butler was at Tioga Point, five hundred women and children gathered within the stockade where they were defended by an improvised force made up of old men and boys under the command of Colonel Zebulon Butler who was home on a furlough. All the able-bodied men of the valley were serving in the Continental army. When Colonel John Butler with a force of about eleven hundred men appeared before the fort, its defenders, only three hundred in number, despite all the efforts of their commander to restrain them, rushed out to attack the enemy. The result, as might have been expected, was disastrous beyond expression. Many were instantly killed. Others were captured, then tomahawked and scalped. Not more than sixty of the whole number escaped. Four days later Colonel John Butler appeared before Fort Wyoming and demanded its surrender. The occupants were so intimidated by recent occurrences that they offered no resistance. The terms of surrender provided that the lives and property of the settlers should be secure and that they should be left in undisturbed possession of their farms.

These terms were wholly ignored. The valley was laid waste. Men were separated from their wives, and mothers from their children. Some were carried into captivity. Many fled. There were cruel and unprovoked murders. One Tory killed his own brother in cold blood. Dr. Thatcher in his *Military Journal* says: "Captain Braddock was committed to torture by having his body stuck full of splinters of pine knots and a fire of dry wood made around him, when his two companions, Captains Ransom and Durkee, were thrown into the same fire and held down with pitchforks till consumed. . . . Thompson Terry with his own hands butchered his mother, his father-in-law, two sisters and their infant children, and exterminated the whole family.

"Sixteen poor fellows were arranged in a circle, while an old half-breed hag, known as Queen Esther, supposed to be a granddaughter of Frontenac, danced slowly around the ring shrieking

a death-song as she slew them one after another with her tomahawk."

These things do not make pleasant reading and are presented only for the purpose of showing how strong was the provocation which led to the severe punishment inflicted the following year by the expedition under Sullivan.

Brant's name has been, most unjustly, associated with the Wyoming massacre. He was not in the valley at any time during the raid. The ignominy of that affair belongs solely to Colonel John Butler.

GERMAN FLATTS

An attack on German Flatts had long been expected. In September nine men from that place were sent toward Unadilla where Brant was said to be, to learn all that they could of the movements of the Tories and Indians. The Indians surprised them at Edmeston, killed three of the party and drove the others into the river. One of them, John Helmer, made his way back to German Flatts where he arrived in a sad plight, "his clothing torn to tatters, his eyes bloodshot, his hands, face and limbs, lacerated and bleeding from the effects of the brambles and bushes through which he had forced his headlong flight."

Brant reached the place only an hour later than Helmer, but the latter's warning had enabled the inhabitants to reach Forts Herkimer and Dayton in safety. Brant had with him about three hundred Tories and one hundred and fifty Indians. On the morning of the 17th of September, 1778, the work of destruction began. Only two persons were killed, but a beautiful country and a prosperous settlement were left houseless and desolate. More than a hundred buildings were burned. Nearly a thousand head of horses, cattle, and sheep were driven away. All the crops were destroyed.

CHERRY VALLEY

Early in the fall of 1778 the colonists attacked Unadilla and Oghwaga, places where the Tories and the Indians made their headquarters and fitted out expeditions against the settlers of the frontier. The places were burned and the crops destroyed. More than four thousand bushels of grain were burned. The attack at Cherry Valley was an act of retaliation on the part of the Tories and Indians. Colonels Clyde and Campbell, who were very conspicuous at the Battle of Oriskany, both lived at Cherry Valley. Because of this the Indians, who suffered greatly at Oriskany, had a special hatred of the place.

Cherry Valley was attacked on the 11th of November by a force of eight hundred Indians and Tories who were under the command of Walter Butler, though Brant was with the party. The attack was a complete surprise though it ought not to have been so. The people had had repeated warnings, but Colonel Alden, who was in command, did not credit the reports received. A short time before the attack was made the inhabitants became alarmed and wished to remove to the fort, but Alden would not permit it, saying there was no danger, that he would be vigilant and give due notice of the approach of any hostile force. That he was sincere is shown by the fact that he himself was without the fort when the attack came and was among the first to be killed. He made his fatal mistake because he had had no experience in fighting the Indians.

General Hand was at Cherry Valley a short time before the attack, and the inhabitants begged him to send them reënforcements; he ordered Colonel Klock, who was only twenty miles away, to send two hundred men to Cherry Valley immediately, but Klock was slow in obeying the order and the men did not arrive till after the massacre though he had promised to have them there by the 9th. That date having arrived without bringing the expected reënforcements, Colonel Alden sent a party of men down the valley on a scout.

They were captured by Butler's forces and of course could give no warning of the approach of the enemy. Colonel Alden, not hearing from them instead of regarding the fact as a warning, assumed that everything was safe, and even when, the morning of the 11th, a man from down the valley who came very early to the place reported that he had been fired upon, Alden was still incredulous and thought the enemy was only a party of stragglers. He was soon undeceived and was an early victim of his almost criminal neglect of duty. The following extract is from Campbell's "Annals of Tryon County":

"The Senecas, who first arrived at the house, with some Tories, commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the family, and before the rangers had arrived, had barbarously murdered them all, including Robert Wells, his mother, and wife, and four children, his brother and sister, John and Jane, with three domestics. . . . John Wells, Esq., at this time deceased, and the father of Robert Wells, had been one of the judges of the courts of Tryon County; in that capacity and as one of the justices of the quorum, he had been on intimate terms with Sir William Johnson and family, who frequently visited at his house, and also with Colonel John Butler, likewise a judge. The family were not active either for or against the country; they wished to remain neutral, so far as they could in such turbulent times; they always performed military duty, when called out to defend the country. Colonel John Butler, in a conversation relative to them, remarked—'I would have gone miles on my hands and knees to have saved that family, and why my son did not do it, God only knows.' . . . A Tory boasted that he killed Mr. Wells while at prayer."

The fort at Cherry Valley was not captured, but all houses, barns, and other property in the village and in the country about it were destroyed. Thirty of the inhabitants were killed and seventy taken prisoners, though most of the latter were soon sent back by the enemy. Quoting again from Campbell's "Annals of Tryon County": "Some generous acts were performed by Brant, which in justice to him ought to be mentioned. In a house which he entered he found a woman engaged in her usual business. 'Are you thus

engaged while all your neighbors are murdered around you?' said Brant. 'We are the King's people,' she replied. 'That plea will not avail you to-day. They have murdered Mr. Wells's family who were as dear to me as my own.' 'There is one Joseph Brant; if he is with the Indians he will save us.' 'I am Joseph Brant; but I have not the command, and I do not know that I can save you; but I will do what is in my power.' While speaking several Senecas were observed approaching the house. 'Get into bed and feign yourself sick,' said Brant hastily. When the Senecas came in he told them there were no persons there but a sick woman and her children and besought them to leave the house, which after a short conversation they accordingly did. As soon as they were out of sight Brant went to the end of the house and gave a long shrill yell; soon after a small band of Mohawks was seen crossing the adjoining field with great speed. As they came up he addressed them, 'Where is your paint? Here, put my mark upon this woman and her children.' As soon as it was done he added, "You are now probably safe.'"

There is not space in this article to give further details of this massacre, or an account of the hardships of the prisoners who were carried into captivity. Those who are interested can read very full and complete accounts in such works as Halsey's "Old New York Frontier," and Stone's "Life of Brant."

THE BATTLE OF MINISINK

While the forces constituting Sullivan's expedition were gathering, Brant struck a blow at Minisink. His real purpose was to secure supplies, as the many raids made by both sides in the valley of the Susquehanna had left little there for the support of the contending forces. Brant reached Minisink, about ten miles west of Goshen, the night of the 19th of July, 1779. The surprise was so complete that several of the houses were in flames before any of the inhabitants were aware of the approach of enemies. Brant's force at Minisink consisted of sixty Indians and twenty-seven Tories dis-

guised as Indians. In this attack four men were killed, three prisoners taken, ten houses, twelve barns, two mills, and a fort burned. Brant drove away the cattle, joined his main force at Grassy Brook, and began his retreat up the Delaware. He had reached a point near Lackawaxen and was preparing to cross the stream and go on to the Susquehanna valley when his pursuers overtook him.

As soon as the news of the attack on Minisink reached Goshen, Colonel Tusten of the local militia ordered his officers to meet him at Minisink the next day with as many volunteers as they could raise. One hundred and forty-nine men, among whom were many of the principal citizens of the county, met at the appointed time. They held a council to determine upon the wisdom of an immediate advance. Colonel Tusten favored waiting for reënforcements, as it was probable that the enemy greatly outnumbered them, but his counsel did not prevail. It was the old story, courage got the better of prudence, as at Wyoming, Oriskany, and many other places. Major Meeker mounted his horse and flourishing his sword cried out, "Let the brave men follow me. The cowards may stay behind." Of course all followed. The next day they were joined by a small reënforcement from Warwick under the command of Colonel Hathorn. As he ranked Colonel Tusten he took command of the united forces. Both of the colonels, and some others, thought it wise to wait for further reënforcements, as it had been ascertained that the Indians greatly outnumbered them, but again the hot-headed majority gave no thought to prudence and the pursuit was kept up. The Indians were soon overtaken and then followed one of the most disastrous engagements of all the border warfare. The fight began about eleven o'clock in the morning and lasted till sundown. Nearly two hundred men from Goshen and Warwick went out in pursuit of the enemy. All save about thirty were killed. Many of the foremost citizens of the county were among the slain.

During the remainder of that year Sullivan was busy in admin-

istering the most drastic treatment to the Six Nations. It was thought that this would secure the frontier against further depredations from the Indians, but this was far from being the case. The next year the frontier was again scourged by the Tories and the Indians. Early in the spring of 1880, Brant with a party of Tories and Indians captured and burned Harpersfield. Three men were killed and eight taken prisoners. A little later Sir John Johnson revisited his father's home. He devastated the Mohawk valley for a dozen miles. Every building not owned by a loyalist was burned. The sheep and cattle were killed, and the horses driven away. Forty prisoners were taken, and several old men were killed. Tribes Hill and Caughnawaga were among the hamlets destroyed.

CANAJOHARIE

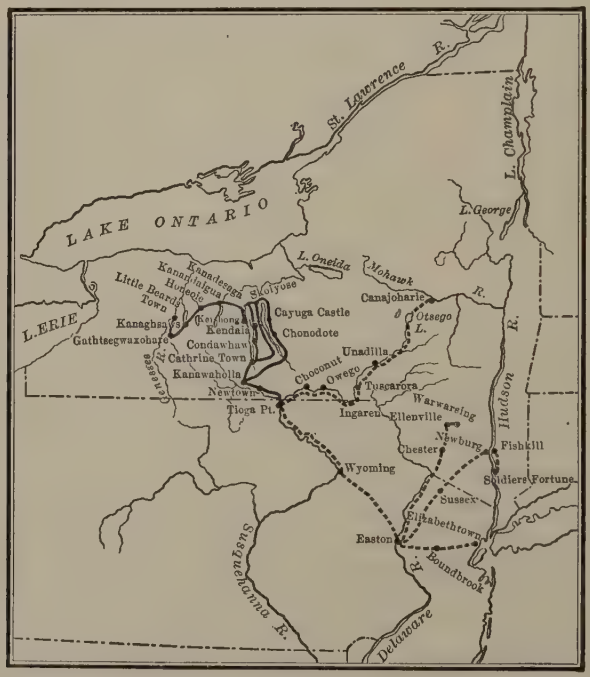
On the 2d of August, 1780, Brant appeared in the Mohawk valley. It was a most inopportune time for the settlers. All the militia of the county was at Fort Schuyler guarding some supplies. There were destroyed at this time more than one hundred and forty houses and barns, two forts, one church, one mill, and a great quantity of farm utensils. Over three hundred head of horses, cattle, and pigs, were driven off or killed. Twenty-four people were murdered, and seventy-three taken prisoners. In a single day a beautiful, fertile and prosperous valley was made a scene of horror and desolation.

THE SCHOHARIE VALLEY

At the beginning of the Revolution there were not more than a thousand inhabitants in the whole of what is now Schoharie county. The settlements began about twenty miles above the junction of the Schoharie Creek with the Mohawk, and continued along the valley for about fifteen miles. During the year 1777 the inhabitants began to suffer from the inroads of straggling parties of

Indians. Three forts were constructed, one at Schoharie, one at Middleburgh, and a third five or six miles further up the stream.

It will be worth the while of the reader to give some study to



MAP OF THE TERRITORY VISITED BY SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION

the map of the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys so as to see how accessible the latter was to the Iroquois, particularly to the Mohawks.

In the fall of 1780 Sir John Johnson with a force of about eight hundred men entered the Schoharie valley. It was his intention to pass by the upper fort and make his first attack at Middleburgh, but

he was discovered and his force fired upon, and all the forts were thus notified of his movements. Johnson's movement was a complete surprise. Many of the inhabitants were at their homes and did not have time to gain the forts. Johnson appeared before Middleburgh at daybreak on the morning of the 16th of October. He laid siege to the fort which was garrisoned by about two hundred men. He then burned houses and destroyed property in all directions at his leisure. All the inhabitants who had been unable to make their escape were killed. After a siege of several days Johnson, for some reason, withdrew his forces. Possibly the fact that he had made three attempts to hold a consultation with the commanding officer of the fort, and each time his white flag had been fired upon, impressed him with the belief that the garrison was more numerous than he had supposed, or that the defenders of the fort were too desperate to make it wise to risk an assault.

As Johnson's force passed down the valley they stopped a short time in the vicinity of the lower fort and exchanged a few shots with its defenders. His whole force finally reached Fort Hunter, at the junction of the Schoharie Creek with the Mohawk. He left devastation all along the line of his march. All the houses and barns save those belonging to Tories were burned. Crops were destroyed and horses and cattle killed or driven off. About one hundred people were killed or carried into captivity. From Fort Hunter Johnson marched up the Mohawk valley, destroying everything as he went.

In these few pages I have tried to give some idea of the experiences of the people of the New York frontier during the Revolution, especially those who lived in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys. Many of the raids and massacres by the Indians and Tories have not even been mentioned. It may add somewhat to the vividness of the picture to give a few statistics. When we remember how sparsely that section of country was settled we will in some degree conceive what it means when we are told that in Tryon county alone

thousands of head of cattle and horses were destroyed, seven hundred buildings burned, and twelve thousand farms left uncultivated; that two-thirds of the inhabitants had been killed or driven out of the county, three hundred and eighty women widowed, and two thousand children left fatherless, as the result of the raids and massacres for which the Butlers, Johnson, and Brant were responsible.

SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION

History has not done justice to Sullivan's expedition. It was one of the important events of the Revolutionary war and yet comparatively few people know much about it. It occupied fully one-third of the Continental army for a whole campaign and was the most important military event of that year. The campaign was carried on under great difficulties, but was brilliantly successful, and carried out with very little loss of life on the part of those engaged in it. It ultimately resulted in the destruction of the Iroquois Confederacy, but many of those who know fairly well the story of that confederacy know almost nothing of the campaign that resulted in its overthrow. It is hoped that this brief sketch will enable our young people to get a clear idea of that march into an unmapped and almost unknown wilderness. That they will learn, that before the time of the white man, there were in the valley of the Genesee, and in the Lake region, fertile fields, thousands of acres of waving corn, numerous orchards of apple and peach trees, and gardens of vegetables; that this was the home of the Senecas and the Cayugas; that all the property of these people was destroyed; that they had brought home to themselves some taste of the misery they had been inflicting upon others.

The Indian massacres at Wyoming, and along the New York frontier, especially in the Mohawk, Schoharie and Susquehanna valleys, had so aroused the people that the Continental Congress felt called upon to take some action in the matter. On the 25th of February, 1779, a resolution was passed directing Washington to take effectual means to protect the frontier, and to chastise the Indians for their depredations.

Washington decided to make this the principal militia event of the year and five thousand men were detailed for this service. Because of his rank the command of the expedition was offered to General Gates, who in reply to the tender wrote Washington as follows: "The man who undertakes the Indian service should enjoy youth and strength, requisites I do not possess. It therefore grieves me that your Excellency should offer me the only command to which I am entirely unequal." This not very gracious reply did not please Washington who referred to it in his correspondence with Congress. After the refusal of Gates the command was given to Sullivan, who was one of the eight Brigadier Generals appointed by Congress when the Continental army was organized.

GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

The expedition was made up of three divisions. The first was directly under the command of Sullivan and the forces of which it was made up assembled at Easton, Pennsylvania, from which point they marched to Wyoming on the Susquehanna River, and later up the river to Tioga Point, where they waited for Clinton who had gathered a force at Schenectady and from there marched to Canajoharie, from which point he sent an expedition against the Onondagas, burning about fifty of their houses and killing nearly thirty of the Indians and taking a somewhat larger number prisoners.

Upon the return of this expedition Clinton marched from Canajoharie to the head of Otsego Lake, a distance of about twenty miles. Part of this was through an unbroken forest, and there was not a good road any part of the way. More than two hundred heavy batteaux had to be drawn across this stretch of country by oxen.

The third division consisting of about six hundred and fifty men, was under the command of Colonel Daniel Brodhead who started from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on the 11th of August and followed the Alleghany River into the Seneca country. He probably went as far as the present city of Hornellsville. He destroyed a considerable number of houses, and a large quantity of corn and other vegetables. It was intended that Brodhead should join Sullivan at Genesee and the united forces march on to the attack of Niagara, but for some reason no attack was made on that place, so Brodhead never coöperated with Sullivan, but no doubt his movement into the Seneca country kept some of the Indians there for the defence of their homes and so lessened the number who opposed Sullivan at Newtown.

Sullivan's expedition was made up of three brigades, the first consisting of four New Jersey regiments under the command of General William Maxwell. The New Jersey troops marched from Elizabethtown, New Jersey, to Easton, where they were joined by General Enoch Poor's brigade made up of three New Hampshire and one Massachusetts regiments. The New Hampshire troops marched from Soldier's Fortune on the Hudson, about six miles above Peekskill, to Easton, crossing the Hudson at Fishkill and marching from Newburgh to the New Jersey line, passing through New Windsor, Bethlehem, Bloominggrove Church, Chester, Warwick, and Hardiston, a distance of thirty-eight miles. All the places named are in the county of Orange. From Hardiston the troops crossed into New Jersey, and marched to Easton, fifty-eight miles farther on.

Nearly forty days were required for the march from Easton to Wyoming, as the way lay through thick woods and almost impassable swamps. The army did not leave Wyoming till the 31st of June. Sullivan has been most unjustly blamed for this delay. Pennsylvania had been relied upon to furnish not only a considerable body of troops but most of the supplies, but that commonwealth did

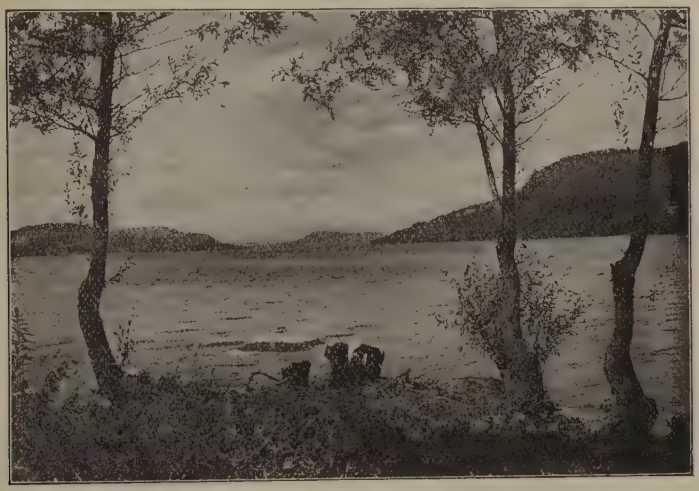
not give the expedition a hearty support. The Quakers were most decidedly opposed to inflicting any punishment whatever upon the Indians. Other Pennsylvanians were offended because a New Englander had been chosen for the command instead of a Pennsylvanian. Troops were slow in coming in. Supplies were furnished tardily and reluctantly. They were insufficient in quantity and poor in quality. The commissaries were careless and inefficient. The contractors were unscrupulous and dishonest. The authorities complained, saying that Sullivan's demands were excessive and unreasonable and they threatened to prefer charges against him. However, all the testimony goes to show that the commissary department was in charge of men who were either utterly incompetent or grossly negligent of their duty. On the 23d of June, Sullivan wrote Washington, saying, "More than one-third of my soldiers have not a shirt to their backs." Colonel Hubbard in a letter to President Reed on the 30th of July, said, "My regiment, I fear, will be almost totally naked before we can possibly return. I have scarcely a coat or a blanket to every seventh man."

GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

On the 31st of July Sullivan's army left Wyoming for Tioga Point. A fleet of more than two hundred boats and a train of nearly fifteen hundred pack-horses were required to transport the army and its equipment. The army was eleven days in going the sixty-five miles between Wyoming and the point of the junction of the Chemung and Susquehanna Rivers. Here Sullivan waited the arrival of Clinton. In the meantime he built a fort which was named for him, between the two streams about a mile and a quarter above their junction, at a point where there were only a few hundred yards of land

between the two rivers. The fort was located almost exactly at the centre of the present village of Athens, Pennsylvania.

General Clinton was at Otsego Lake where he had been waiting for orders from Sullivan. The lake is a beautiful sheet of water nine miles long and from three-quarters of a mile to two miles wide. It is some twelve hundred feet above tidewater, and is the principal



OTSEGO LAKE

source of the eastern branch of the Susquehanna. Its outlet is narrow with high banks. Here Clinton built a dam and raised the water of the lake several feet so as to furnish sufficient water to float his boats when the time came to go down the river.

On the 9th of August his forces embarked and the dam was cut. Not only was there sufficient water to float the boats but the flats down the river were flooded and the Indians were frightened, thinking that because of a flood during mid-summer without any rain the Great Spirit was angry with them.

During his passage down the river Clinton destroyed Albout, a Scotch Tory settlement on the east side of the Susquehanna, five miles above the present village of Unadilla; Conihunto, an Indian town fourteen miles below Unadilla on the west side of the river; Unadilla, at the junction of the Unadilla with the Susquehanna; Onoquaga, an Indian town situated on both sides of the river about twenty miles below Unadilla; Shawhiangto, a Tuscarora village near the present village of Windsor, Broome county; Ingaren, a Tuscarora hamlet where is now the village of Great Bend; Otsiningo, sometimes called Zeringe, near the site of the present village of Chenango; Chenango, on the Chenango River, four miles north of Binghamton; Choconut, on the south side of the Susquehanna, at the site of the present village of Vestal, in Broome county; Owegy, or Owagea, on the Owego creek about a mile above its mouth; and Mauckatawangum, near Barton.

On the 28th of August Clinton met a force sent out by Sullivan at a place that has since been called Union because of this meeting. It is about ten miles from Binghamton.

The two forces having joined all was in readiness for a forward movement. So far the work had been chiefly that of preparation. Now the real work of the expedition was to be begun. The movement was a remarkable one. The expedition was to pass over hundreds of miles of territory of which no reliable map had ever been made, through forests where no roads had ever been cut, across swamps that were almost impassable to a single individual, with no opportunity to communicate with the rest of the world, no chance to secure additional supplies, no hope of reënforcements in case of disaster, no suitable provision for the care of the sick and wounded, no chance of great glory in case of success, no hope of being excused in case of failure. It was a brave, daring, almost reckless movement, but successful beyond all expectation.

The combined forces of Clinton and Sullivan began their forward movement and on the 29th of August met the Indians and

the Tories under the command of Brant, the Johnsons, and the Butlers, at Newtown, near the present city of Elmira. Although greatly outnumbered the Indians held their ground for nearly a whole day. The real leader, the one who inspired the resistance, was Brant. The Indians fought from behind breastworks from which they were driven only through the use of artillery, and even then they held their ground stubbornly until they were attacked on the flank and were in danger of being cut off. The flanking movement of Sullivan ended the battle and from that time on the expedition met with no resistance of any consequence.

After the Battle of Newtown the work of Sullivan's expedition was that of destruction. The following places were destroyed on the 31st of August: Middletown, having eight houses, situated three miles above Newtown; Kanawaholla, with twenty houses, near Elmira; and Runonvea, with thirty or forty houses, near Big Flats.

Sheoquaga, or Catherine's Town, on the site of the present village of Havana, was burned on the 1st of September. The town had forty houses that were large and well built. The house occupied by Queen Esther was eighteen by thirty feet, and two stories in height. Queen Esther's farm was fenced, and she raised horses, cattle, hogs, and chickens. The place was not greatly unlike a modern stock farm. Queen Esther was a great granddaughter of Count Frontenac. Her husband was a famous Seneca chief.

On the 3d of September Sullivan's forces destroyed a place since known as Peach Orchard. It was on the lake shore about twelve miles from Catherine's Town. The next day, Condawhaw, now North Hector, was burned. The following day the troops destroyed Kendaia, or Appletown, a place a few miles north of Condawhaw, that had more than twenty houses built of hewn logs. The town was surrounded by apple and peach orchards, which were also destroyed.

On the 7th of September the army reached Kanedesaga, the cap-

ital of the Seneca nation, often called the "Seneca Castle." It was a town of fifty houses and there were about thirty others in the vicinity. Surrounding the town were extensive orchards and cornfields. In 1756 Sir William Johnson built a stockaded fort at this place. It was on the site of the present city of Geneva. The army rested here for a day, while detachments were sent out to destroy the surrounding towns. Colonel Harper went about eight miles down the Seneca River and destroyed the Indian town of Skoi-ase, a place of eighteen houses, on the site of the present village of Waterloo. Major Parr went seven miles up the west side of Seneca Lake and destroyed the village of Shenanwaga, a town of twenty houses, surrounded with orchards of peach and apple trees, and extensive cornfields. Major Parr also destroyed many stacks of hay, great numbers of hogs and fowls, and much other produce.

Kanedesaga was surrounded not only with numerous orchards, but by extensive gardens containing onions, peas, beans, squashes, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, cucumbers, watermelons, carrots, and parsnips. Then, as now, it was a wonderfully productive section of country.

On the 10th of September the army reached Kanandaigua, an Indian town on the site of the present village of Canandaigua. Here were twenty-three "elegant houses," some of them framed, others built of logs, but all large and new. The next day a march of fourteen miles brought the army to Haneyaye, a place of twenty houses, at the foot of Honeoye Lake, near the site of the present village of Honeoye.

Kanaghsaws, also called Adjuton, was reached on the 13th. It was a place of eighteen houses, near Conesus Lake, and about a mile north-west of Conesus Center.

It was on the 12th that Lieutenant Thomas Boyd was sent out on what proved to be a fatal scout. Twenty-eight men accompanied him and all but five were killed. The detachment was surrounded

by a force of more than eight hundred Indians and Tories. Fifteen of Boyd's party were killed before he surrendered. This was the only resistance of any kind that the expedition met with after leaving Newtown. Lieutenant Boyd was subjected to tortures too horrible to be related here.

The next town destroyed was Gathtsegwarohare, a place of twenty-five houses, mostly new. It was on the east side of Canaseraga Creek, about two miles above its junction with the Genesee. It was surrounded with cornfields so extensive that it took two thousand men six hours to destroy them.

On the 15th of September the army reached a town known as Little Beard's Town, or Great Genesee Castle, or Chenandoanes; sometimes one of these names is given, and sometimes the others. The place contained one hundred and twenty-eight houses, "most of which were large and elegant." Surrounding the town were two hundred acres of corn, and large gardens filled with all kinds of vegetables. This village was near Cuylersville in the town of Leicester. After the destruction of this place, and the crops, Sullivan began his homeward march.

Colonel Butler was detached to pass along the east shore of Cayuga Lake. On the 21st of September he destroyed Choharo, a small town at the foot of the lake. The next day he burned Gewauga, another small settlement where now is the village of Union Springs. On the 22d he reached Cayuga Castle, a village of fifteen large square log houses, situated on the east shore of the lake. One mile to the south of the Castle was Upper Cayuga, containing fourteen houses; and two miles to the north-east was East Cayuga, or Old Town, as it was sometimes called, with thirteen houses. Both places were burned and the cornfields and orchards around them destroyed.

Chonodote, a town of fourteen houses on the east shore of the lake, on the site now occupied by Aurora, was destroyed on the 24th. Here were great orchards, fifteen hundred peach trees, and

many apple trees. These were destroyed as well as a great quantity of corn.

On the 21st Colonel Dearborn was detached to lay waste the country on the west side of Cayuga Lake. He burned six small towns; one in Fayette, four miles from the lake; a second a mile north of Canoga Creek; a third on the south bank of Cayuga Creek, half a mile north-east of Canoga village; the fourth a mile south of the last place; the fifth in the north-east corner of the town of Romulus; and the sixth three miles from the head of the lake on Cayuga inlet. This practically completed the work of destruction.

Forty Indian villages had been burned; two hundred thousand bushels of corn destroyed; thousands of fruit trees cut down or girdled; all the garden lands laid waste; and all the horses, cattle and hogs killed. The Indians had been hunted like wild beasts. When the expedition was through with its work there was neither house, nor fruit tree, nor field of corn, nor garden, nor a solitary inhabitant in all the beautiful and fertile country which the Senecas and Cayugas had inhabited.

Sullivan had been directed to go on and capture Niagara. He failed to do so, because he lacked provisions for the expedition; but considering the supplies that he burned, and the animals that he killed, belonging to the Indians, one can hardly think this excuse valid. He does not seem to have had the decision and force of character necessary for such an enterprise. Had he gone on to Niagara he would have found there a horde of nearly five thousand famished savages, and a small and sickly garrison. He would have captured the place with ease. It is doubtful if any serious defence would have been made. Had he captured Niagara it would not have been during the following years "the headquarters of all that was barbarous, unrelenting, and cruel," as De Veaux declares it to have been.

As it was the Indians had been terribly punished. A winter of great suffering was before them. About five thousand of them

passed it at Niagara in huts which the English built for them. The winter was one of the coldest ever known in America, so cold that the harbor of New York was frozen solid enough to bear troops and artillery. The Indians were compelled to live on salted food and hundreds of them died of scurvy. Many starved and others were frozen. So ends the story of an expedition that inflicted more suffering than any other single movement in the early history of our country.

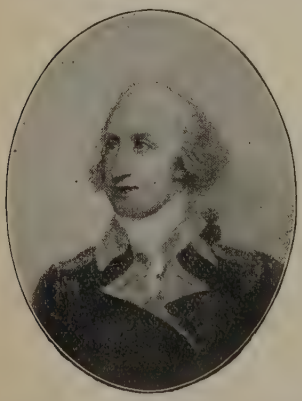
This expedition may have been made necessary by existing conditions, but one cannot do otherwise than grieve over the destruction of a good degree of civilization, the making of a wilderness of the most fertile part of the state, and the wide-spread suffering which it entailed.

The beauty and fertility of the Genesee valley charmed every one who took part in the expedition, and when this country was open to settlers many of these men found homes there. Sullivan said the valley did not seem like the home of savages, but rather like the residence of a people skilled in agriculture. The country had the appearance of having been cultivated a long time. The land was very fertile and the corn wonderfully prolific. Some of the ears were twenty inches long.

The expedition did its work with the loss of only forty men, less than one per cent. of the number belonging.

GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

It is not my purpose to attempt anything like a full biographical sketch of General Schuyler, but his connection with the Battle of Saratoga, the importance of the Schuyler family, its relation to other important families of the state, and its industrial and political importance, make some knowledge of Schuyler necessary to a clear understanding of some parts of our history.



GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

The Schuylers, Van Rensselaers, Van Courtlandts, and Livingstons, were closely related through intermarriages. Their large interests on the Hudson, coupled with their great ability, made them prominent and influential. The first three named families were Dutch. The fourth was originally Scotch, but through intermarriages it became more Dutch than Scotch.

Robert Livingston came to this country from Scotland in 1674. He married a daughter of Philip Pieterse Schuyler. At the time of her marriage to Livingston she was the widow of the Reverend Nicholas Van Rensselaer.

Philip Pieterse Schuyler, the founder of the Schuyler family in America, came here from Amsterdam in 1650. Peter Schuyler, one of his sons, played a leading part in the French and Indian wars from 1684 to 1724. He also held many important civil positions, among them that of Judge, Mayor of the city of Albany, and the chairmanship of the Board of Indian Commissioners. To the

Six Nations he was known as "Quider" (pronounced Keeder), they being unable to pronounce the name Peter. He was so popular with the Indians because of his uniformly just treatment of them that, at the beginning of the Revolution, when Congress wished to address the Six Nations and was anxious to make the most favorable impression possible, it began its address as follows: "We, the representatives of Congress, and the descendants of 'Quider.'"

The Schuyler family was long and intimately identified with the city of Albany. It furnished the city with six mayors previous to 1750.

A Philip Schuyler married a Van Rensselaer of Claverack. His daughter married the last patroon of Van Rensselaer, and his son married a sister of the patroon.

Stephanus Van Courtlandt married a daughter of Philip Pieterse Schuyler. The youngest daughter of Stephanus Van Courtlandt was the mother of General Philip Schuyler, who was born on the 11th of November, 1733. He was the son of Johannes Schuyler, and the great grandson of Philip Pieterse Schuyler. Philip was only eight years old when his father died. He was brought up by his mother, living a part of the time in Albany, and part at the old Schuyler mansion at Schuylerville.

The old mansion at Schuylerville is still standing and is in a fair degree of preservation, which is very remarkable when one remembers that it was built in seventeen days to replace the one burned by Burgoyne.

It was here that the men assembled whom the Schuylers led into Canada on expeditions against the French and Indians. Here Lord Howe, Abercrombie, Amherst, Gage, Lee, Stark, Putnam, and other noted men were entertained. In the old family burying ground a little to the north of the house sleeps "Quider" and many of his kinsmen.

Schuyler was with Johnson on his expedition against Crown Point; with Bradstreet on his march against Oswego, and at the

capture of Fort Frontenac; and with Abercrombie on his ill-fated expedition against Ticonderoga; acquitting himself with credit on all these occasions. Nine days after the battle at Lake George he married "sweet Kitty Van Rensselaer."

During the expedition of Amherst, Schuyler was stationed at Albany to gather supplies and forward them to the army. Later

THE SCHUYLER MANSION IN ALBANY

SCHUYLER MANSION AT SCHUYLERVILLE

he went to London on business. During his absence his wife built a fine mansion on what is now Clinton street in the southern part of Albany. Here Burgoyne was entertained after his surrender. Here Washington, Lafayette, Count de Rochambeau, Baron Steuben, Benjamin Franklin, Charles Carroll, Aaron Burr, and other noted men enjoyed the hospitality of the Schuylers. Here Schuyler's daughter Elizabeth was married to Alexander Hamilton. The house is now used for an orphan asylum under the charge of the Order of St. Francis.

In 1768 Schuyler was chosen member of the Assembly and was associated with such men as James De Lancey, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, John Cruger, John Alsop, Frederick Philipse, George Clinton, and Pierre Van Courtlandt.

In the dispute between New York and New England over territorial boundaries Schuyler was very active in sustaining the claims of New York, and in doing so he incurred enmities that were destined to bring him disappointment at a later day.

Schuyler, like many others, foresaw the coming of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country. On the outbreak of the war he was one of the four Major Generals appointed by Congress. The appointment was in every way a most fitting one. Schuyler was a man of ability. He had had an extensive and varied experience. He had been a delegate to the Continental Congress, a member of the Assembly of New York, and had held other important civil positions. He had been to England and knew the English people. He was widely acquainted with prominent men in the colonies. He had served in the army, both in the field and in the commissary department, and with distinction in both capacities. But from the first there were those in Congress who favored Gates rather than Schuyler, and they, and Gates himself, were continually intriguing to advance Gates at the expense of Schuyler. The enemies which the latter had made at the time of the territorial controversy between New York and New England were bitter against him.

Gates, through the scheming of his friends, secured the command at Ticonderoga. This made him a subordinate of Schuyler. Instead of remaining at Ticonderoga and strengthening that post to meet the advance of Burgoyne, he spent most of his time in Albany, circulating slanderous reports regarding his superior officer. When Burgoyne appeared before Ticonderoga, Gates was elsewhere.

After the surrender of Ticonderoga, which the colonists very mistakenly regarded as impregnable, there was such demoralization

among the American troops, and such dismay among the American people, that it was remarkable that Schuyler was able to offer any resistance to Burgoyne's advance, yet so watchful was he, and so quickly did he take advantage of Burgoyne's mistakes, that the latter was weeks in going from Whitehall to Fort Edward, a distance he ought to have made in a few days. What was needed was time for the Americans to recover from the shock and demoralization incident to the surrender of Ticonderoga. This Schuyler afforded by his tactics. At this time of the country's greatest need, when every one should have rallied to the support of Schuyler, Gates, and his supporters in Congress and elsewhere, were making every possible effort to discredit him, and at this time of fear and excitement it is not to be wondered at that they had some measure of success, so much that Schuyler was unable to inspire confidence enough, so that it was wise to replace him with some other commander. It was pitiable that a man who lacked neither ability nor activity, should, through no failure on his own part, be compelled to lose his command, and that that command should go to one who, while acting as his subordinate, had slandered and maligned him; to a man who had no fitness for the position; and whose record throughout the Revolution had nothing in it to commend and much to condemn. That this man should succeed Schuyler, after victory had become certain, and reap the credit that Schuyler had earned, was the very irony of fate.

When Gates was appointed to succeed Schuyler the latter might properly have left the army at once, but instead of doing so he received Gates courteously, gave him all his maps and charts, and offered any assistance it was in his power to give. Gates completely ignored him. However, time rights many things. Later, Gates went south and fully demonstrated his lack of ability. As president of the Conway Cabal he showed what manner of man he was. The world knows now that the Battle of Saratoga was won by Schuyler, Arnold, and Morgan; and that Gates contributed noth-

ing toward winning that victory. His sole work at Saratoga was the temporary humiliation of one who was a most worthy man, and an excellent officer. Later, even Webster, with all his New England prejudices, ranked Schuyler next to Washington.

After Schuyler was superseded by Gates he demanded a court of inquiry, which was granted. He was exonerated from every charge that had ever been made against him. After this report Schuyler resigned his commission and was soon after elected delegate to the Continental Congress. He was a member of the State Senate from 1780 to 1790. Philip Schuyler and Rufus King were the first two United States Senators from New York. Schuyler was chosen for the short term. He was again elected in 1797 in place of Aaron Burr, but resigned soon on account of ill health. He died in his seventy-first year.

BURGOYNE'S INVASION

"Three threatening strands were woven by the Crown;
One stretching up Champlain; one reaching down
The Mohawk Valley whose green depths retained
Its Tory heart, Fort Stanwix scarce restrained;
And one of Hudson's flood; the three to link
Where stood Albania's gables by its brink."

ALFRED B. STREET

THE campaign of 1776 had resulted disastrously for the Americans. They were driven out of Canada and terribly beaten at the Battle of Long Island. Quebec and New York were in the hands of the British. It seemed an opportune moment for a combined movement to sever the New England colonies from the rest of the country and conquer the two sections in turn. This was, in brief, the plan of Burgoyne. He was to march southward from Canada, coming through the lakes and going as far south as Albany. St. Leger was to come down the Mohawk from Oswego. Howe was to come up the Hudson. The plan was a most plausible one. Burgoyne hoped to end the war by this movement and become the British hero of the time, but

"The best-laid schemes o' mice an' men
Gang aft a-gley."

Burgoyne spent the winter of 1776-77 in London where he worked out the details of his plan and secured its approval. He received his orders then, but Howe did not receive his till the 16th of August when he was just entering the Chesapeake Bay, altogether too late for him to coöperate with Burgoyne.

At the opening of the campaign Howe had thirty thousand men in New York, and there were ten thousand British soldiers in Canada. The British were in possession of New York, all of Canada, and the lakes as far south as Ticonderoga, that post and all the terri-

ROUTE OF THE BURGOYNE EXPEDITION

tory south of it being in the possession of the Americans. The British held Fort Oswego on the lake, and the Americans occupied Fort Stanwix at Rome.

Burgoyne had about seven thousand soldiers thoroughly equipped. Besides these he had Indians, Canadians, and American refugees, making his whole force about ten thousand men. He reached Lake Champlain by the middle of June. On the first of July he appeared before Ticonderoga. This place was commanded

by General St. Clair, who had a force of about twenty-five hundred men. He was soon reënforced by nine hundred militia, but even then his force was less than half that of Burgoyne. Ticonderoga was generally considered almost impregnable and the people were confident that it would hold out against Burgoyne, but their belief was not well founded. Long before Montcalm had declared that it could not stand a siege, and said it was "a trap for some honest man to disgrace himself in."

Ticonderoga was overlooked by Mount Defiance, which the Americans neither fortified nor occupied. This mountain and the other heights in the vicinity were promptly occupied by the British, and Ticonderoga was no longer tenable. The following night the Americans made a hasty retreat taking with them such of the cannon as they could and spiking the remainder.

> "Led on by lust of lucre and renown,
> Burgoyne came marching with his thousands down.
> High were his thoughts and furious his career,
> Puff'd with self-confidence and pride severe;
> Swoll'n with the idea of his future deeds,
> Onward to ruin each advantage leads."—PHILIP FRENEAU

Before reaching Ticonderoga Burgoyne said: "The enemy will probably fight at Ticonderoga. Of course I shall beat them. I will give them no time to rally. When they hear that St. Leger is in the valley their panic will be complete. We shall have a little promenade of eight days to Albany." It looked as though Burgoyne was right. Already the panic was complete; but for some unaccountable reason Burgoyne, who had planned to go to the Hudson by the way of Lake George, changed his mind and went by the way of Skenesborough (Whitehall). This change of route brought him into endless trouble which will be considered later.

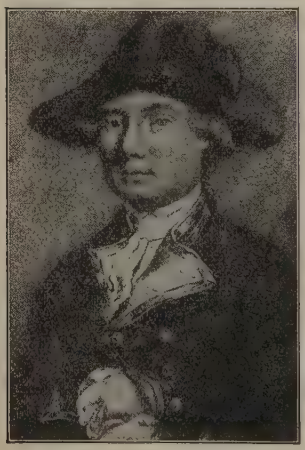
On his retreat St. Clair was overtaken at Skenesborough, and forced to abandon his galleys. He destroyed the fort and mills

and hurried on through the wilderness to Hubbardton. There he left a small force under Colonel Warner, and then moved on to Castleton, six miles distant. Later Warner was joined by Colonel Francis. They remained at Hubbardton over night and were attacked the next day by the British under General Frazer. The Americans were defeated after a hard fought battle in which the British lost two hundred men. The American loss was three hundred, including the brave Colonel Francis.

St. Clair joined General Schuyler at Fort Edward on the 12th of July, going by the way of Rutland, Manchester, and Bennington. The Americans were thoroughly demoralized and had Burgoyne been in position to follow up his advantage quickly he might have had "a promenade of eight days to Albany," but he made a serious mistake in taking the Skenesborough route instead of going by the way of Lake George. From the latter place to the Hudson he would have found fair roads and he could not have been greatly hindered in his movements. The road from Skenesborough to the Hudson was through a low, marshy country, barely passable for footmen, and, until roads were made, wholly impassable for artillery and heavy stores. Miles of corduroy road had to be made and many bridges built. The Americans felled great trees into Wood Creek so that it was impassable, and blocked the roads with fallen timber so that the British had to stop and remove the fallen trees every ten or twelve rods of the way. It was twenty-six miles from Skenesborough to Fort Edward, and Burgoyne was twenty-four days in making the distance, a distance that he could have made in two days had the way been clear. This delay was fatal as it gave the Americans time to recover from their panic, which they did in some measure.

The northern American army was under the command of General Philip Schuyler. His force was not strong enough to warrant an engagement with Burgoyne, so he abandoned Fort Edward three days before Burgoyne reached it. He withdrew to Moses Creek,

four miles below Fort Edward, then a week later to Fort Miller, after that to Saratoga, and finally to Stillwater. He was so elated at being able to withdraw with all his artillery that he said he "believed the enemy would not see Albany this campaign." At this time Schuyler had about four thousand men, less than half as many as Burgoyne. Aside from the disparity of numbers there was confidence on the part of the British and despondency among the Americans. The British were well armed and equipped. The Americans were poorly armed, poorly clothed, and lacked in equipment in almost every particular. The British army was composed of the best trained soldiers Great Britain could furnish. The American army was largely made up of untrained and undisciplined men.



GENERAL BURGOYNE

The American people were despondent, but the leaders became confident as Burgoyne delayed his movements. Not only was Schuyler confident, but Washington expressed the opinion that the success of Burgoyne at the outset "would precipitate his ruin." He further said, "His acting in detachments is the course of all others most favorable to the American cause. . . . Could we be so happy as to cut off one of them, supposing it should not exceed four, five, or six hundred men, it would inspirit the people and do away with much of their present anxiety. In such an event they would lose sight of past misfortune, and, urged at the same time by a regard for their own security, they would fly to arms and afford every aid in their power." This prophecy was soon proved to be correct. The troubles of Burgoyne began at Skenesborough. His progress was necessarily slow, not only because of the obstructions thrown in his way, but also because his supplies had to be

brought from Canada, a long distance away. He was from the 30th of July to the 15th of August in accumulating provisions for an onward movement. He had been led to believe that as soon as his army appeared there would be a great number of loyalists who would furnish him with a large amount of provisions, and his disappointment in this matter was a source of great embarrassment to him. While he was waiting for provisions from Canada, he learned that great quantities of flour, corn, and cattle had been gathered at Bennington, and that it was guarded only by a small force of militia.

THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON

Burgoyne determined to send an expedition to Bennington for the double purpose of securing needed supplies and over-awing the country. Colonel Baum with about a thousand men set out for Bennington on the 11th of July. On the 14th he was confronted with a force equal to or greater than his own under the command of General John Stark. Having been instructed by Burgoyne not to risk an engagement with a superior force, Colonel Baum threw up intrenchments and sent a messenger to Burgoyne. Stark also was reluctant to risk an engagement before the arrival of Colonel Warner to whom he had sent for aid. Both sides waited for reënforcements all day on the 15th. Burgoyne had sent Colonel Breyman with eight hundred fifty men to reënforce Baum, and on the morning of the 15th Warner left Manchester to join Stark who had in the meantime been joined by several hundred Massachusetts militia. Stark was now ready to fight and on the 16th made his attack on Baum, who fought behind intrenchments and had cannon, while Stark with no artillery was forced to fight in the open, but he outnumbered his opponent. The battle began at three o'clock in the afternoon. Stark pointed to the enemy's redoubt and said, "There, my lads, are the Hessians! To-night our flag floats over yonder hill, or Molly Stark is a widow!" The fight

was a severe one, but ended in the capture of most of Baum's force. Soon after the fight was over while Stark's men were in disorder, having no thought of a rescuing force, Breyman appeared, and but for the timely arrival of Warner, who immediately took a position between Breyman and Stark's scattered forces giving the latter time to rally, the victory would have been turned into a rout. As it was, the fight with Breyman was quite as stubborn as that with Baum earlier in the day. Breyman was finally defeated and forced to retire in disorder with severe losses. The Americans took seven hundred prisoners, captured four cannon, a thousand stand of arms, and a thousand dragoon swords. Two hundred of the British were killed, while the loss of the Americans was fourteen killed and forty-two wounded.

Though always spoken of as the Battle of Bennington, and the monument commemorating the victory is in Vermont, both actions took place in the town of Hoosick, New York.

The result of this action was a severe blow to Burgoyne. From this time on all his supplies must come from Canada, hundreds of miles away, and all that long line must be protected, a task of constantly increasing difficulty, as he advanced farther south. Stark's victory was sure to arouse the country and add to the number of Burgoyne's opponents, and also greatly increase their confidence in ultimate success. At the same time his own force must constantly decrease. He had no way of making good his losses, and as his line lengthened and his enemies gathered courage he must add to the number who were protecting his communications and so lessen the number of men available for an aggressive movement. A few days later a courier brought news of the Battle of Oriskany, and hope of relief through the advance of St. Leger grew dim.

It may be well at this time to give a brief sketch of St. Leger's movements. When Burgoyne started with his army up through the lakes, St. Leger organized a force at Oswego, and was to pass up the river to Oneida Lake, through the lake and into Wood's Creek,

then across to the headwaters of the Mohawk, then down the valley to Albany, coöperating with Burgoyne in such ways as might be deemed advisable. The Americans held Fort Stanwix which commanded the carry from Wood's Creek to the Mohawk. At this point St. Leger's advance was arrested and he was obliged to abandon his expedition. It was not until after the Battle of Bennington that Burgoyne learned of St. Leger's defeat which occurred some time earlier. After the receipt of this news Burgoyne knew that his success or failure depended on his own efforts alone.

JANE McCREA

The story of the murder of Jane McCrea was told with many embellishments and aroused the greatest indignation among all classes and greatly harmed Burgoyne's cause. It aided much in bringing recruits to the American army, and Burgoyne, who was a tender and sympathetic man, was so aroused that at the outset he was determined to hang the guilty Indian, and in the end refused to let any more Indians go out on any expedition unless a British officer went with them. This led to the desertion of all his Indian allies. The story of the murder of Miss McCrea has been told again and again and in almost as many different ways as there were tellers of the story. Stone gives the version substantially as follows in the article he wrote for Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography. Miss McCrea was engaged to be married to David Jones, a loyalist who was serving as lieutenant in Burgoyne's army. Jones sent a party of Indians under a half-breed named Duluth to escort Miss McCrea to the British camp where they were to be married by the chaplain Mr. Brudenell. Miss McCrea was the daughter of a Scotch clergyman who lived at Paulus Hook, but at this time she was visiting her friend, Mrs. McNeil, at Fort Edward. Before the half-breed Duluth reached the house of Mrs. McNeil, the Wyandot Panther, also known as Le Loup, attacked the house and carried off Miss McCrea and her aunt. Duluth and

the Panther and their parties met near a spring and Duluth insisted on taking the girl with him. There was a quarrel between the two Indians and finally the Panther drew a pistol and shot Miss McCrea. With the multitude of versions of the story it is not likely that the exact truth will ever be known, but the above version is as probable as any.

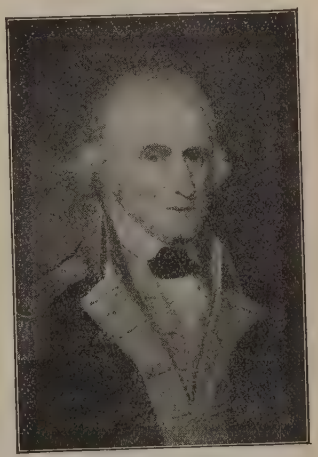
JANE McCREA MONUMENT

The Daughters of the American Revolution have erected a monument to the memory of Jane McCrea near the spot where she was killed.

Schuyler, who from the first was far from being popular, either with the army or with the people, steadily lost in popularity. His gradual retreat before Burgoyne was regarded as proof of his inefficiency. After the Battle of Oriskany Gansevoort called on Schuyler for assistance. A council was called to consider the matter. All of Schuyler's associates were opposed to sending aid to Gansevoort, saying it would leave them too weak to resist Burgoyne. Schuyler tried to convince them that it would be good policy to relieve Gansevoort and defeat St. Leger. While the matter was under consideration he heard a half whispered remark that he was trying to weaken the army. Turning at once and facing the one who uttered the slander he said: "Gentlemen, I shall take the responsibility upon myself. Where is the brigadier that will take command of the relief?" Arnold at once volunteered and the following morning left with eight hundred men who were also volunteers. The result showed the wisdom of Schuyler.

Gates took command on the 19th of August, three days after the Battle of Bennington, and thirteen days after Herkimer's fight at Oriskany, two events that made the fate of Burgoyne's army only a question of time. Schuyler had already practically secured a victory. Gates had only to wait for the laurels.

The army was continually receiving additions and by the 8th of September Gates had six thousand men. He then marched to Stillwater, and four days later to Bemis Heights where he awaited the attack of Burgoyne.



GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Ever since the Battle of Bennington General Lincoln had been gathering the New England militia at Manchester. In a short time he had an army of two thousand men. He employed them in efforts to break Burgoyne's line of communication, and in harassing his outposts. He sent Colonel Brown to Lake George with five hundred men. Brown captured three hundred prisoners, released more than a hundred Americans, and destroyed a great quantity of stores. Lincoln also sent detachments to Skenesborough and Ticonderoga, but they failed to do more than annoy the enemy.

The Americans at Saratoga suffered so much from the Indians that Washington sent Colonel Morgan with five hundred picked riflemen to assist Gates. After the expedition to Lake George Lincoln joined Gates with his whole force at the urgent request of the latter.

The beginning of the end was now at hand. Burgoyne was not strong enough to advance and he would not retreat. He was no longer able to keep open his line of communication with Canada.

He had on hand supplies for about a month. He must win success within that time or not at all. His advance had been stopped. Confidence had given place to indecision. Hope had well nigh disappeared. Despair was in the hearts of the soldiers. His only chance was in successful battle. On the 8th of September he crossed the Hudson. On the 19th he fought the Battle of Bemis Heights which was not decisive. He fought a second battle on nearly the same ground on the 7th of October which resulted favorably to the Americans. It was at this battle that Arnold distinguished himself. Although without a command, and not even having permission to fight, late in the afternoon when he could not longer keep himself in restraint he mounted his horse and putting himself at the head of three regiments who received their old commander with cheers, he entered the hottest of the fight before Gates could stop him. Arnold and Morgan carried off the honors of the day. Arnold, who was without a command, was the most prominent and important figure in the battle. Near the close of the fight Arnold's horse was shot under him, and he himself wounded severely in the leg which had been shattered at Quebec two years before. At this time Wilkinson reached him, bearing an order from Gates directing him to return to camp lest he should "do some rash thing."

SARATOGA BATTLE MONUMENT

After this engagement Burgoyne attempted to retreat but found himself hemmed in on every hand, and finally surrendered his whole army at Schuylerville on the 17th of October.

At the time of the surrender of the British the American army

numbered about twenty-five thousand men. The number of prisoners taken was five thousand seven hundred ninety-one. Forty-two pieces of artillery, five thousand muskets, a large amount of ammunition, and a great quantity of stores were captured. All these were greatly needed by the Americans to fit them for future service.

While the Battle of Saratoga may be regarded as being decisive of the conflict between Great Britain and her colonies, yet the battle was far from ending the war, which dragged on for three more weary years.

The corner stone of the monument erected to commemorate one of the "decisive battles of the world" was laid on the 17th of October, 1877, just one hundred years after the surrender at Schuylerville. The monument was not completed till June, 1883. The shaft is twenty feet square at its base and rests on a plinth forty feet square. The monument is one hundred fifty-five feet in height, and is on a hill two hundred forty feet above the river. The view from the upper openings of the monument is exceptionally fine. To the north are the villages of Fort Miller, Fort Edward, Sandy Hill, and Glens Falls; while farther on are the mountains around Lake George, and eighty miles away, but still visible on a clear day, are the peaks of Marcy and the other Adirondack giants. The outlook to the north is over historic ground. To the east are the Green Mountains of Vermont, and toward the south may be seen the Catskills.

THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY

The glorious part that New York played in the Revolution has not been well told. Others have written our history. The world knows the story of Bunker Hill, Lexington, and Concord, but we ourselves hardly know that of the Battle of Oriskany, which was more stubbornly fought than any other battle of the Revolution, and was second to none other in its consequences. It made Sara-

toga, one of the decisive battles of the world, possible. Many of our school histories do not mention the battle of Oriskany, and those that do treat it with scant courtesy.

You have already had the story of Burgoyne's splendid army and its imposing movement up Lake Champlain, the defeat of Baum at Bennington, the failure of Howe to coöperate with Burgoyne, the latter's check at Saratoga, and his final surrender.

GEN. NICHOLAS HERKIMER

The relation of the movement of St. Leger to the success of Burgoyne is yet to be told. That is the theme of this story.

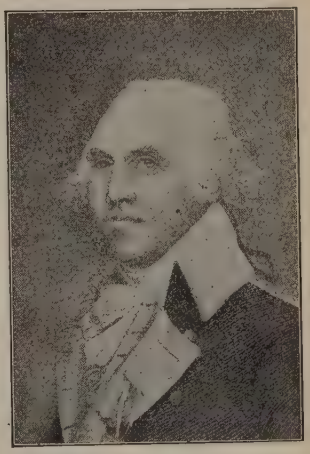
Rumors of the proposed movement of St. Leger were current in the valley early in June, and they were soon confirmed by a friendly half-breed Oneida who had been employed as a scout. At first the news paralyzed the patriots. Some of the wavering ones went over to the Tories, but when the time for action came there was no hesitation. General Herkimer had notified every man from sixteen years of age to sixty to be ready for instant service when called upon.

Fort Schuyler, known at an earlier date as Fort Stanwix, was where the city of Rome now stands. It commanded the carry from Wood Creek to the headwaters of the Mohawk. Colonel Ganse-voort was stationed here with nearly a thousand men. This fort must be captured before St. Leger could pass down the valley to coöperate with Burgoyne. On the 1st of August the enemy appeared before the fort. The siege began on the 4th.

As soon as St. Leger was known to have reached Oneida Lake General Herkimer summoned the militia of the valley. By the 3d

of August about eight hundred fifty had gathered at Fort Dayton, near the mouth of West Canada Creek. They were under the command of General Herkimer who was assisted by Colonels Cox, Bellinger, Klock, and Visscher, who were in command of the fragments of their respective regiments. Some of the friendly Oneidas joined the force.

St. Leger's command, made up of British regulars, Tories, and Indians, numbered about seventeen hundred fifty, about the same number as the combined forces of Gansevoort and Herkimer. While some writers have spoken of St. Leger's force as being "a motley crowd," it is far from true that it was an ineffective force. The regular troops were picked men, Johnson's Tories were well armed and disciplined, while the Indians were under the command of Brant, the ablest of all the Indian war chiefs, and with him were the bravest and most skilful of the Six Nations.



COLONEL GANSEVOORT

On the afternoon of the 4th of August Herkimer reached Oriskany, a little village about eight miles west of Utica, at the point where the Oriskany Creek enters the Mohawk. This was only about six miles from Fort Schuyler, which had been completely invested by St. Leger that same day.

From this point Herkimer sent three scouts to the fort to notify Colonel Gansevoort of his approach. He asked Gansevoort to fire three guns as a signal as soon as the scouts reached him, and to be prepared to make a sortie at the same time that he (Herkimer) attacked St. Leger.

On the morning of the 6th, the day of the fateful battle, no word had been received from Gansevoort, nor had the signal guns

been fired. As the day wore on the men became impatient and demanded to be led against the enemy, but Herkimer knew that his force was not strong enough to warrant an attack without coöperation from the garrison and he would not move.

The Herkimers were the great family of the valley, and because of this there was jealousy of the General. Herkimer was an uneducated German who could not speak English well, while many of his officers were well educated, and this fact added to the feeling against him. But that which added distrust to jealousy was the fact that Herkimer had a brother, brothers-in-law, and nephews, who were Tories. A brother of his was at this time with Johnson, and a brother-in-law was one of the chief loyalists of the valley.

There was a difference of opinion as to why no word had come from Gansevoort. Some thought that the signal had been given, and not heard; others that the scouts had been captured; and still others thought that they had been delayed in getting into the fort; the last supposition being correct. The feeling in favor of an immediate advance grew in intensity. The various officers spoke strongly on the subject, some of them bitterly, one finally saying that they needed to know whether they had a patriot or a Tory at their head. Even this was borne by Herkimer who felt himself responsible for the lives of his men. But when one said "At least we are not cowards," Herkimer was touched and replied, "You! You will be the first to run when you see the British." The epithets of "Tory" and "coward" were hurled at the General till he could bear it no longer and he cried out, "If you will have it so the blood be on your own heads," and waving his sword he shouted "VORWARTS!"

So began the ill-fated movement. In the meantime St. Leger, who had learned of the presence of Herkimer's force, had sent Brant and the Indians, together with the Royal Greens, and some of the Rangers, to check his advance. Brant laid an ambush, circular in form, at a point where the road crossed a marshy ravine. This was two miles from Herkimer's camp.

The forward movement of Herkimer's force began in confusion. No scouts were sent out in advance. Herkimer, the trained Indian fighter and experienced frontiersman, had been goaded into a movement that his judgment did not approve. Two miles forward, and then the little army, if it were an army rather than a tumultuous and unorganized crowd, thoughtlessly and ignorantly marched into the deadly ambush. Colonel Cox, who was one of those who had been most bitter in their attacks on General Herkimer, fell at the first fire. The whole force, save the rear guard, which promptly fled as Herkimer said they would, were within the ambuscade. The point where they entered was quickly occupied and they were within a ring of fire. Herkimer cried out, "My God, here it is!" His horse was shot under him and his leg was shattered by the same ball that killed his horse. He refused to be taken from the field, and was placed on his saddle at the foot of a tree. Here he lighted his pipe and directed the fight as calmly as he would have overlooked the common affairs of life.

For a time the fight was simply a slaughter, so utterly unprepared, and so completely surprised, were the men of Herkimer's command. But they were brave and some degree of order was finally secured. They formed themselves into a circle facing their enemies. Still they were gradually being pressed back and their extermination seemed certain.

A terrific thunderstorm broke upon the contestants. So bitter had been the fight that no one had noticed its approach. The rain fell in torrents making the continuation of the struggle impossible. The storm continued for an hour, and the time was used by Herkimer in getting his men in better position. He had noticed during the fight that his men had sheltered themselves behind trees, one man to a tree, and that when one of them fired an Indian would rush forward and tomahawk him before he could reload.

To prevent such tactics Herkimer placed two men behind each tree, and when the fighting was renewed after the storm was over

the Indians continued the same method of fighting as before, and when one of them ran forward he was shot by the second man behind the tree. From this time on the fighting went against the Indians.

It was during the storm that the belated signal came from the fort. Immediately after the storm ceased Colonel Willett sallied from the fort and attacked first the camp of St. Leger, then that of the Indians; nearly all of the latter were fighting Herkimer, and St. Leger was across the river, but Sir John Johnson was in his camp sitting in his shirt sleeves. He had a very narrow escape from the fort and attacked first the camp of St. Leger, then that on his coat. Colonel Willett captured Johnson's private papers, five British flags, clothing, blankets, and other stores, and returned to the fort without the loss of a man.

During the fight after the storm the Tories resorted to an artifice that came near being disastrous to the patriots. The Royal Greens disguised themselves and claimed to be a party from the fort, but Captain Gardenier discovered the trick in time to avert disaster, though not soon enough to prevent the fiercest fight of the day. The surprise, the discreditable deception, and the bitterness which existed between the Tories and the patriots in the valley, all conspired to add to the stubbornness of the conflict that followed, and which resulted in the retreat of the Tories after heavy losses.

In the latter part of the battle the Indians suffered severely, losing many of their chiefs. They soon raised their loud retreating cry of "Oonah!" and fled from the field. The battle had lasted six hours. The losses on both sides had been terrible. In no other battle of the Revolution was so large a proportion of the men engaged killed or wounded. About one-third of all engaged on both sides were disabled. Both sides claimed the victory, but the Americans remained in possession of the field.

After the battle General Herkimer was taken to his home a few miles below Little Falls. Here his leg was amputated and the

operation being unskilfully performed blood poisoning followed, and he died a few days later.

The house in which General Herkimer lived is still standing and is in a fair state of preservation. The track of the West Shore railroad passes within a few yards of it. The Central Railroad is

GENERAL HERKIMER'S HOUSE

on the opposite side of the river, but one sitting on the river side of the car can readily see the old Herkimer house.

Fort Schuyler continued to be closely invested after the battle at Oriskany. St. Leger demanded its surrender, saying that Herkimer's army had been completely annihilated, and that Burgoyne had reached Albany; that the losses of the Indians had been severe, and that it was with much difficulty that he could secure their consent to spare the lives of the garrison, and if resistance was continued he would not be responsible for the consequences.

Undoubtedly St. Leger thought that Herkimer had been so thoroughly crippled that no more trouble need be apprehended from the

patriots in the valley, and in most cases his reasoning would have been correct. When militia fight so stubbornly that one-quarter of their number is killed they cannot be expected to rally for another fight soon, but the men of the valley were not ordinary men, nor were the conditions of the usual sort. These men were fighting, not merely for their country, and their property, but for their lives, and the lives of their wives and children. For sixteen days longer St. Leger continued his investment of Fort Schuyler, and during all that time the spirit of opposition grew from day to day.

St. Leger's summons to surrender the fort was refused. During the night Colonel Willett and a companion named Stockwell passed out of the fort and made their way through the enemy's lines to General Schuyler, whom they begged to send aid to Gansevoort. The result of that appeal has already been given. Arnold with a force of volunteers was soon on the way, and some of the militia of the valley joined him, but he knew that he was not strong enough to warrant a direct attack. If he succeeded it must be by stratagem. He captured several Tories, among the number being Hon Yost Schuyler, a half-witted spy, who was tried and condemned to death, but his mother pleaded so hard for his life that Arnold finally agreed to free him if he would promise to go to the camp of St. Leger and tell the Indians that Arnold was coming to the relief of Fort Schuyler with a great force. A brother of Hon Yost was kept as a hostage to suffer in the place of Hon Yost in case the latter did not keep his agreement. With bullet holes in his coat, and terror in his face, Hon Yost entered the British camp and told his story of the coming of Arnold, which story was confirmed by a friendly Oneida who was sent into the camp to see if Hon Yost did as he agreed.

St. Leger learned that one cannot deal with the savages without in some way suffering the consequences. The Indians had lost more than a hundred of their best warriors, including some of their prominent chiefs, and they were sullen and insubordinate. They

stood in great fear of Arnold and the news of Hon Yost frightened them terribly. St. Leger could not induce them to maintain the siege any longer. In order to induce them to join the expedition St. Leger had told the Indians that they would not have any fighting to do, but as a matter of fact they had borne the brunt of it, and were thoroughly sick of the campaign. Without the Indians

FORT HERKIMER CHURCH—EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR

St. Leger could not maintain the siege, in fact it would be unsafe for him to have them in his rear. Some of the Indians got drunk, and began to assault the soldiers. Others deserted. The next day the army of St. Leger was in full flight. During this retreat many of his men were killed by the Indians of his command. So ended the expedition of St. Leger. Only a miserable remnant of his command reached Canada. All his tents, stores, artillery, and other supplies fell into the hands of the Americans. With his retreat all hope for Burgoyne came to an end. His surrender was now only a question of time. Not only was the outcome of St. Leger's

expedition directly disastrous to Burgoyne, but beyond doubt it prevented a Tory uprising in the Mohawk valley, and a complete union of the Iroquois against us.

It is said that the first American flag was unfurled at Fort Schuyler at the time of St. Leger's invasion. The blue came from a soldier's jacket, the white from his shirt, and the red from a woman's petticoat.

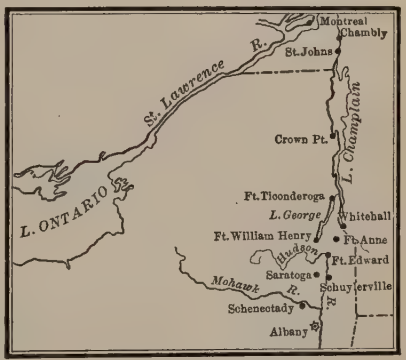
Herkimer, Gansevoort and Oriskany are names that should not be forgotten. If they are not to be perpetuated through our school histories, some other means should be found to make them known to the young people of the Empire State. They will not soon be forgotten in the valley.

In 1876, under the auspices of the Oneida Historical Society, a granite monument eighty feet high was erected in commemoration of the battle. It is placed near where Herkimer sat under a tree directing the battle after he was wounded. The monument is just west of the village of Oriskany, and can be seen from the car windows on either the West Shore or Central trains.

One who wishes to know fully the spirit of those times, and get a clear idea of the conditions that existed in the Mohawk valley, just previous to and during the Revolution, should read Harold Frederic's "In the Valley."

THE GREAT WAR-PATH

A GREAT valley stretches from the St. Lawrence River to New York Bay. The highest point in this whole distance of three hundred fifty miles is only 147 feet above sea level. This highest point is between Fort Edward and Fort Anne, on the old Indian carry from the Hudson River to the head of Lake Champlain. Before any dams were built on the rivers the whole distance from New York to Montreal, with the exception of about twenty miles, was navigable for small boats, and far the greater part of the distance was navigable for vessels of the largest size. It was a great natural waterway between the two cities. As now it is a great commercial route, so in the early days it was the great war-path of this country. The value of this route was greatly enhanced from the fact that it connected with another natural route to the west, through the Mohawk valley, the only wide open way from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, in the whole Appalachian range.



THE GREAT WAR-PATH

Over this great natural highway from the St. Lawrence to the Hudson, Indian war parties came and went for centuries before the coming of the white men. Over this path the French and their Indian allies swept down from the north upon the frontier settlements of our state with war-whoop, tomahawk, and scalping knife.

Over the same course the English and Iroquois went on their errands of retaliation.

It was by this same pathway that the English came during the Revolution hoping to sever the rebellious colonies in twain, and subdue each section in turn.

When the first white men came to this country the Indians had already christened this natural route of travel "the dark and bloody ground," and it was a fitting title for many long years after.

It would take a volume, and not a small one either, to tell fully the history connected with this great war-path, but some knowledge of the principal movements should be known to us all. A few of these will be briefly sketched in the order in which they occurred.

As you have already learned, the Iroquois first settled in the valley of the St. Lawrence, from which they were ultimately driven. On their retreat from that country a portion of them at least came up along this route and settled in the valley of the Mohawk. They were not a forgiving people and their enemies to the north were frequently attacked, and in turn attacked them. Most of these expeditions back and forth were over this "dark and bloody ground."

1609

It was during this year that Champlain accompanied a war party of Hurons and Algonquins on an expedition against the Mohawks. They ascended the St. Lawrence, entered the Richelieu River and passed from it into Lake Champlain and then up the lake till they met a party of Mohawks near Ticonderoga. What occurred there you already know. This was the first of many expeditions that passed and repassed over this route in the long struggle between France and England for the possession of this continent.

1642

For a third of a century after their defeat by Champlain the Iroquois people had been content with fitting out expeditions num-

bering from ten to a hundred braves who went through the lakes and lay in ambush along the Richelieu and St. Lawrence rivers, waiting for small parties which they could easily overcome, but in the summer of 1642 they felt that their time had come, and they fitted out a great expedition that overran nearly all Canada, and captured or killed great numbers of French, and Canadian Indians. It was while on this expedition that they captured Father Jogues. You have already had this story given somewhat fully and it is mentioned now only to keep the connection of the various movements over this route.

1666

From the time of the great Iroquois incursion of 1642 Canada was hardly ever free from the presence of her insatiable foes. The colony could barely maintain itself because of them. Their incursions must be checked or the colony abandoned. So early in January, 1666, Courcelle with a force of only five hundred men marched over the frozen surface of the lakes into the territory of the Mohawks. They suffered from cold and exposure, lost their Algonquin guides, then lost their way and took the wrong trail. On the 20th of February, half frozen and half starved, they found themselves near Schenectady. They came to punish the Mohawks but they were scarcely able to care for themselves, and after a short rest set out on their return. Harassed by the Mohawks, but suffering more from the cold, they retraced their long and weary way, sixty of the party perishing on the way.

In October of the same year Tracy led an expedition of thirteen hundred men directly into the Mohawk country. The Indians fled and their castles were burned. This humbled the Iroquois for a time but they took a terrible revenge later.

1689

Twenty-three years after they were humbled and humiliated by Tracy and Courcelle the Iroquois took full and bloody revenge. On

the night of the 5th of August a war party of fifteen hundred Iroquois landed at La Chine and began the most awful massacre in all Canadian history. The houses were burned and all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, brutally murdered. For two months the invaders remained in the vicinity of Montreal, murdering all whom they found outside of the forts, burning buildings, and destroying property. Owing to the orders of Denonville, the French governor, no attack was made on the Iroquois, and the latter did not attack the forts; so, for two long months, they were free to ravage the country, which they did most thoroughly. Over a thousand of the French were killed, while the Iroquois lost only three men during the whole of their stay in Canada.

1690

In the winter of 1690 Frontenac sent a party of two hundred ten men to attack Albany, hoping to take the place by surprise. As soon as the Indians who made up a part of the force learned the destination of the expedition they refused to go farther fearing the "great guns" as they called the cannon, so the party, being obliged to change its intention, went to Schenectady which they reached on the 8th of February. The attack was made in the night. There was no one on guard. The gates were not closed. All the inhabitants were asleep. The war whoop aroused them, and the massacre began. Neither women nor children were spared. Schuyler in describing this affair wrote, "No pen can write, and no tongue can express the cruelties that were committed." For two hours the work of murder and destruction went on. Sixty persons were killed, and between eighty and ninety taken prisoners. All the houses save three or four were burned.

An expedition consisting of five hundred fifteen men under the command of General Winthrop set out on an expedition to Canada as a retaliation for the destruction of Schenectady. When they reached Whitehall General Winthrop decided that it would

not be wise to go farther as there was much sickness among the men, and provisions were scarce, and canoes few in number. Captain Johannes Schuyler, the grandfather of General Philip Schuyler, was opposed to abandoning the expedition, as he feared it would have a bad effect on the Mohawks who were already wavering in their allegiance to the English, and who might go over to the French if they thought the latter were feared by the English. Captain Schuyler obtained permission to ask for volunteers to go on to Canada with him. About one hundred fifty men joined him. They surprised La Prairie, to the south of Montreal, killing some of the inhabitants, and taking many prisoners, as well as destroying much property. The interest in this expedition is due chiefly to the fact that it was the first armed force to enter Canada from the colonies.

1691

Pieter Schuyler, a brother of Johannes, started from Albany on an expedition to Canada on the 21st of June, 1691. He had a force of about three hundred men, more than half of them Indians. They took the same route that Johannes Schuyler and his force had taken the year before. They had two severe engagements in which they killed some of the enemy and took a number of prisoners. The most important result of this expedition was the confidence that it gave both the whites and the Iroquois in their ability to cope with the French successfully.

1693

Toward the end of January, 1693, Frontenac sent out an expedition against the Mohawks. It consisted of six hundred twenty-five men, made up of French regulars, Canadians, and Indians. They left Chambly, going south on the old war-path. It being in winter all the men wore snow shoes. In eighteen days they reached the lower Mohawk town. This and the middle town were about a mile apart. Both were surrounded at the same time and captured

without resistance. One of these towns was burned and all the prisoners were confined in the other. The third town, which was eight leagues away, was captured after a sharp fight in which twenty or thirty Mohawks were killed, and nearly three hundred, mostly women and children, taken prisoners. On their retreat the French were pursued by Schuyler with a party of settlers and some of the Mohawks and Oneidas. There was a severe fight in which neither side gained any especial advantage. During the following night the French retreated, and Schuyler was obliged to wait for supplies as his men were faint with hunger. When the provisions came the pursuit was renewed and the French overtaken. There was no further fighting because the French declared that they would kill all their prisoners if they were attacked, so the Indians would not fight, as the prisoners were their friends and relatives. When the French reached Lake George they found that the warm weather had so affected the ice that it was not safe, so they had to make their way along the shore. They had left provisions on the shore of Lake Champlain for use on their return, but they found them all spoiled. Because of this, their retreat to Montreal was accompanied with great suffering. They boiled moccasins for food, and scraped away the snow to find hickory and beech nuts. Several died from starvation and others became too weak to move. The stronger made their way to Montreal and relief parties were sent out for those who had been left behind.

1745

In the fall of 1745 the Governor of Canada planned an expedition against the New England settlements on the Connecticut. An expedition numbering more than five hundred left Montreal on the 4th of November. When the party reached Crown Point the Indians claimed it was too late to cross the mountains into the Connecticut valley. After some discussion it was determined to abandon their original plan and attack Saratoga. They went up Lake

Champlain to South Bay, and from there across the country to Fort Anne. They lost their way but finally reached Fort Edward. Here they captured two Indians, three white men and a boy. On their way to Saratoga several other prisoners were taken, from whom they learned the condition of affairs at the place they were to attack. They reached Old Saratoga (now Schuylerville) on the night of the 27th of November. They burned thirty dwellings with their outbuildings, four mills, a blacksmith shop, and the fort. It had been thirty years since the place had known the presence of an enemy and no provision for defence had been made. The fort was not garrisoned. About thirty people were killed and more than a hundred taken prisoners. Of these some were ransomed, and some died in prison. Very few of them ever saw Saratoga again.

1755

This was the year of Sir William Johnson's expedition against Crown Point and the counter-movement of Baron Dieskau. You have already had the story, and you are now merely reminded of it in its order as one of the many movements over this long used war-path.

1756

During the season of 1756 the Earl of Loudon was in command of the British and Colonial forces and occupied Albany, Fort Edward and Lake George. Montcalm and the French forces were at Ticonderoga. Neither commander thought it wise to advance, so the season passed without any activity along the lakes, but the French captured the English forts at Oswego.

1757

On the first of August, 1757, Montcalm left a small force at Ticonderoga, and with a force of more than seven thousand men,

about sixteen hundred of whom were Indians, moved toward Fort William Henry. About one-third of the force went overland, the remainder in a great fleet made up of two hundred and fifty batteaux, and a multitude of birch bark canoes filled with Indians in their picturesque war-dress. The detachment that went by land halted near the present village of Bolton till the boats came up, when the whole force moved on together and reached the vicinity of Fort William Henry on the 2d of August. Montcalm stationed a part of his force where the village of Caldwell is now, and mounted

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LAKE GEORGE FROM FORT WILLIAM HENRY

his heaviest cannon there. The fort was defended by Colonel Monroe, a brave Scotch officer, with a force of twenty-two hundred men. General Webb was at Fort Edward with sixteen hundred men, while there were a thousand more at the different forts between Fort Edward and Albany. Webb was soon reënforced by two thousand militia, so that all told there was a force available to meet Montcalm fully equal to his own, but the cowardly Webb made no effort to relieve Monroe who repeatedly asked for reënforcements. Webb, whose personal courage had been questioned before, would neither make any effort to relieve Monroe nor allow others to do so. When Sir William Johnson reënforced Webb

with nearly two thousand militia, and five or six hundred Indians, he begged to be allowed to take a thousand more men and march at once to the relief of Monroe. Webb gave a reluctant consent, but when Johnson had gone four miles, Webb peremptorily ordered him to return, saying he feared he would meet the fate of Braddock if he went to Monroe's relief.

This is Johnson's opinion of Webb: "Webb's malady is constitutional. If he had let me go I believe I would have compelled the French to raise the siege. If he had supported me with his whole force I believe we could have beaten Montcalm. We had nearly seven thousand effective troops and Monroe had about sixteen hundred more in his garrison and fortified camp. Montcalm had no more than six thousand effective. But Webb, instead of marching to the relief of Monroe, sent him a letter advising him to surrender on the best terms he could get. You know the rest. I hate to say it, but the truth must be told. Webb enjoys a solitary and unique distinction. He is the only British general—in fact, I may say the only British officer of any rank—I ever knew or heard of who was personally a coward. That Webb was and is such, no one who served with or under him could fail to perceive. He was nearly beside himself with physical fear after the fall of Fort William Henry. His army was in good spirits and anxious to fight. The general alone was panic stricken! The fate of Braddock, who was an old comrade of his in the Guards, almost upset his mind. At his headquarters in Fort Edward, when I was present, the subject of Braddock's expedition came up, and Webb spoke with almost puerile fear of the horrors of falling into the hands of the Indians."

After Montcalm had made all his preparations for an attack he sent the following communication to Monroe: "I owe it to humanity to summon you to surrender. At present I can restrain the savages and make them observe the terms of a capitulation, as I might not have the power to do under other circumstances; and an obstinate defence on your part could only retard the capture of

the place for a few days, and endanger an unfortunate garrison which cannot be relieved, in consequence of the dispositions I have made. I demand a decisive answer within an hour."

Monroe, of course, refused to surrender, but he waged a most unequal conflict. He was greatly outnumbered. His artillery was in every respect greatly inferior to that of Montcalm. Added to all this was the presence of smallpox in Monroe's army. After a siege of eight days, when it was apparent that they could not resist the assault that was certain to be made soon, Monroe called a council of his officers and it was decided to surrender if honorable terms could be had.

It was agreed that the English troops should march out with the honors of war and be escorted to Fort Edward by a detachment of French troops, and that the English should not serve again for eighteen months, and that all the French who had been captured in America since the war began should be given up within three months. Montcalm called a council of the Indian chiefs before signing the articles of capitulation and asked them to assent to its provisions and to restrain their warriors from any disorder. To this they all agreed.

No sooner had the surrender taken place than began one of the most horrible massacres known to the history of our country. The savages murdered at once all who were confined to their beds by sickness. Punishment is sometimes meted out in unexpected ways. Some of the sick had the smallpox and the Indians contracted the disease which devastated the tribes that fall and winter.

It will never be known how many were killed during this massacre. Accounts differ greatly. Probably not far from a hundred were killed; the sick, women, and children, being among the number. About six hundred of those who had surrendered and had been promised safe conduct to Fort Edward were seized by the Indians. Nearly half of these were afterward released, but the others were taken to Canada, where some of them were tortured.

No doubt Montcalm and his officers did all they could in the way of persuasion, entreaty, and command, to stop the massacre, but there is no evidence that any attempt was made to use force, which could have been done effectually, though no doubt such a course would have cost the French the friendship and support of the savages, and Montcalm seems to have thought the massacre a lesser evil than such a loss. It is quite certain that he was strong enough to have compelled the Indians to observe the articles of capitulation, as they agreed in advance to do. Montcalm had not the excuse of not being prepared for the emergency because he was ignorant of the forces he had to deal with. This is clear, because in his own defence he said, "You know what it is to restrain three thousand Indians of thirty-three nations." This massacre will forever stain the otherwise fair fame of Montcalm. It is quite possible that it so aroused the people of the colonies as to contribute not a little to the final defeat of the French on this continent. A writer has said, "The massacre of the English at Lake George marked the culminating point of the French upon this continent."

TICONDEROGA

Joseph Cook says, "Around the walls of Ticonderoga, along the shores of Champlain and Horicon (Lake George) were the school grounds of the Revolution." It is true that in the struggles with the French on that territory the colonists were trained to fight and began to act in concert.

Around the name of Fort Ticonderoga are clustered many memories; memories of great events and great men; memories of Indians and of whites; of the French, the colonist, and the English; of Champlain, Montcalm, Abercrombie, Lord Howe, Amherst, St. Clair, and Burgoyne; of historical events of great importance and far reaching consequences.

It was here that Champlain defeated the Mohawks in 1609
Here that Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) was erected by the French in... 1756
Here that Abercrombie was disastrously defeated by Montcalm in 1758
The place was captured by Amherst in 1759
The American army near Boston was supplied with stores and ammunition taken from Fort Ticonderoga at the time of its capture by Ethan Allen in 1775
Fort Ticonderoga was evacuated by St. Clair in..... 1777

1758

Great Britain resolved to make another attempt to capture Ticonderoga. Six thousand regulars and nine thousand colonists

THE NARROWS, LAKE GEORGE

were employed in the attempt. They gathered at Lake George and on the morning of the 5th of July the whole army of fifteen thousand men embarked. Besides the heavy flat-boats used for carrying the artillery and other heavy supplies, there were nine hundred batteaux, and one hundred thirty-five whaleboats. Imagine that great fleet of boats with the showy uniforms of the soldiers passing through the narrow part of the lake with its numerous islands. Let Parkman tell the story: "Before ten o'clock they

began to enter the narrows; and the boats of the three divisions extended themselves into long files as the mountains closed on either hand upon the contracted lake. From front to rear the line was six miles long. The spectacle was superb; the brightness of the summer day; the romantic beauty of the scenery; the sheen and sparkle of those crystal waters; the countless islets, tufted with pine, birch, and fir; the bordering mountains, with their green summits and sunny crags; the flash of oars and glitter of weapons; the banners, the varied uniforms, and the notes of bugle, trumpet, bagpipe, and drum, answered and prolonged by a hundred woodland echoes."

Let Joseph Cook paint the same picture.

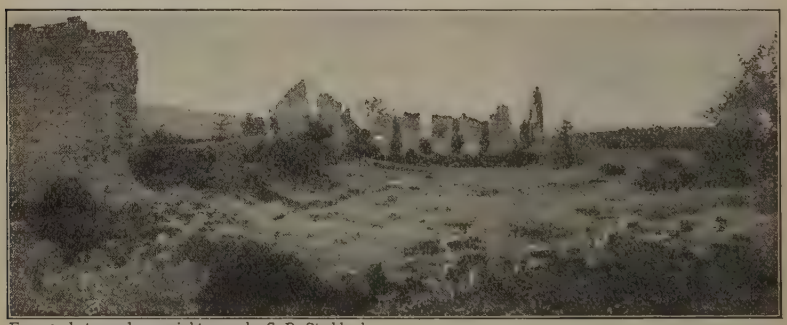
"See a thousand flashing barges,
And the blue-coats and the red-coats,
And the tartans from Loch Lomond,
And the sunlight on the forests,
And the mirrored oaks and maples,
Breathing beeches, silver birches,
Giant pines on mighty summits,
Iris sheen and iris sparkles,
And the sword glare in the waters."

Abercrombie was in command of the combined British and Provincial forces. With him was Lord Howe upon whose judgment the English ministry relied chiefly for success. While Abercrombie was going down the lake with fifteen thousand men, Montcalm was awaiting him at Ticonderoga with less than four thousand. The details of the battle which followed cannot well be given here. Lord Howe was killed early in a slight engagement which took place near Trout Brook. Never was the success of an army apparently more bound up in the life of one man. All went wrong after his death. Instead of occupying Mount Defiance which overlooked and commanded Montcalm's position, or besieging the place, it was decided to attempt to carry it by assault. Again and again did the

British charge the works, which were protected by a perfect entanglement of fallen trees. At the close of the day Abercrombie withdrew with the loss of about two thousand men. The French loss was three hundred seventy-seven. The defeat of an army of fifteen thousand men by a force of less than four thousand was most humiliating.

1759

Following the unfortunate and humiliating campaigns of Loudon and Abercrombie was a third that was successful to a good



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RUINS OF FORT TICONDEROGA

degree, though owing to the slowness which seemed to be characteristic of the English generals, far less was accomplished than the British expected and the French feared. Amherst who commanded the British and Provincial forces reached Lake George about the first of June. Here where Johnson won his victory over Dieskau; here where the poltroon Webb allowed Monroe to be defeated; here where the savages whom Montcalm had called into his service massacred men, women, and children; sick and well; here where Abercrombie gathered his great force, set out with such brilliant prospects, and marched to humiliating defeat; from here Amherst with a force smaller than Abercrombie's was to march

against the same foe which had defeated and driven Abercrombie's army back to Fort William Henry. Though Amherst had only eleven thousand men, and Abercrombie had had fifteen thousand, Amherst was a soldier and a disciplinarian. He was careful and prudent. He protected his rear with a line of fortified posts all the way from Fort Edward to Lake George, the most important being Fort Amherst at Half Way Brook. He began at Lake George a fort known as Fort George, the ruins of which are still visible.

On the 21st of July the army embarked with much the same

RUINS OF THE FORT AT CROWN POINT

show as Abercrombie made the year before. On arriving at the foot of the lake, Amherst began a regular investment of Ticonderoga. The French commander withdrew his army, leaving a small force to retard the advance of Amherst as long as possible. On the 26th the remainder of the French withdrew after having fired the magazine which blew up and destroyed one bastion of the fort, and burned such parts as were combustible. Amherst repaired the fort and made ready for an advance on Crown Point. On the 1st of August Amherst's scouts reported that the French had abandoned that place. The British took possesssion of the works and began to build a new fort there.

This was practically all that Amherst accomplished though he had been instructed to push on as rapidly as possible in order to create a diversion in the interest of Wolfe who was before Quebec.

You have now had given the principal military events that have taken place along "The Great War-Path," with the exception of Burgoyne's expedition which has been treated earlier in this book, and the operations during the war of 1812 which is a matter of more recent occurrence than this volume deals with.

THE NIAGARA FRONTIER

PERHAPS only Quebec and Manhattan Island played more important parts in our early history than did the country about Niagara. It was the one point absolutely necessary to the French in order that they might maintain communication with their western posts and keep the way open to the Mississippi valley. If once they lost control at Niagara everything to the west must soon fall without further effort on the part of their enemies. In the early days the French were much more alive to this fact than were the English, possibly because the French had important interests in the west, while the English had none.

The name of La Salle will always be associated with the early history of Niagara because he was one of the first white men to visit the place, and because he was the very first to recognize its importance, both for the prosecution of the fur trade in times of peace, and as of great strategical value in case war should take place between the French and the English.

The earliest occupants of the Niagara territory of whom we have any knowledge were the Neuter Nation. They were a very numerous people having no fewer than thirty-six villages west of Niagara River, and four to the east of it. Their territory probably extended as far east as Lockport. In 1651 the Neuter Nation was nearly exterminated by the Senecas. From this time on the Senecas claimed the territory that the Neuter Nation had occupied, and the other Indian tribes recognized their title to it, though the Senecas did not really occupy it for more than a hundred years. In 1679 they granted La Salle certain rights on the Niagara River, and in 1719 they gave Joncaire, a Frenchman whom they had adopted, cer-

tain privileges there. In 1725 they permitted the French to build a stone fort at the mouth of the river.

At an early day there was a conflict between the claims of France

THE FALLS AT NIAGARA

and England regarding this territory. France claimed it because of the discoveries of Champlain, La Salle, and the Jesuit missionaries; while England claimed the whole continent because of its discovery

by her early navigators. The claims of both parties lacked substantial foundation, but Parkman regards that of the French as being the more reasonable.

Mr. Peter A. Porter, author of "A Brief History of Old Fort Niagara," and many other works relating to the history of the Niagara Frontier, gives the following statement of the varying ownership of the Niagara territory. It is worth while to keep it clearly in mind.

The Neuter Nation	to 1651
Indian ownership	from 1651 to 1669
Indian ownership, French influence predominating	from 1669 to 1725
Indian ownership, French occupation	from 1725 to 1759
Indian ownership, English occupation	from 1759 to 1783
American ownership, English occupation	from 1783 to 1796

It is possible that Brulé, who acted as interpreter for Champlain, visited the Niagara region in 1615, though the probabilities are that the first white man in that section was Joseph de la Roche Dallion, a Catholic priest who was there in 1626. So far as is known the next white visitors were Fathers Brébeuf and Chaumont, who went there in November, 1640, in the religious interests of the Neuter Indians. They remained till the middle of the following February when they abandoned the field, apparently having made no impression upon the Indians.

The Niagara region does not seem to have been visited by any white men for a quarter of a century after Fathers Brébeuf and Chaumont left it. This may be due to the fact that the Senecas came into the possession of the country about this time and that the Iroquois had so spread the terror of their name far and wide, even before the coming of the white men, that no one entered their territory unless they had very strong reasons for doing so. It was no doubt largely due to this fact that no white men visited Niagara, save for a brief period, till 1678.

La Salle, in company with two Sulpician missionaries, visited

the Niagara territory in 1669. They visited some of the Seneca towns and crossed the Niagara River on their way to the west.

La Salle and Father Hennepin were at Niagara in 1678. Father Hennepin and La Motte, the latter being under the direction of La Salle, left Fort Frontenac in a little vessel of only ten tons and arrived at the mouth of the Niagara River on the 8th of December, 1678. They and their small force of eighteen men landed on the east bank of the river where Fort Niagara was afterward built. Father Hennepin went up the river in a canoe as far as the present town of Lewiston where later he erected a bark chapel and held services. La Motte and his men built a cabin here and fortified it with palisades. Beyond any doubt this was the first attempt made at Niagara to provide a means of defence against the Indians. This was in December, 1678. A month later La Salle built two blockhouses at the mouth of the river, giving the place the name of Fort Conti. These blockhouses were both destroyed by fire a few months later.

La Motte and Father Hennepin visited the Senecas at one of their villages situated to the south-east of the present city of Rochester, and not far from the town of Victor. The purpose of the visit was to obtain from the Senecas permission to build a vessel on Lake Erie, and a fort at the mouth of the Niagara River. The Senecas made evasive replies to their requests, and Hennepin and La Motte returned to Niagara, their severe and toilsome journey having been a failure. La Salle, who was to follow Hennepin and La Motte to Niagara, appeared in the Seneca village just after his associates had left it, and obtained the privilege that had been refused them.

While La Salle had little to do with making the history of the Niagara Frontier his name has been largely associated with the locality. He visited it no fewer than five times.

When La Salle left the Seneca village he went to Niagara and passed up the river looking for a suitable site for building a vessel. There is little doubt that the place he selected was the mouth of

Cayuga Creek. Here he built the *Griffin,* a schooner of forty-five tons, mounting five small cannon. It was the first vessel to navigate the waters of Lake Erie. In it La Salle made his famous voyage westward, crossing Lakes Erie and Huron, and going as far west as Green Bay on Lake Michigan. From here he went to a point at or near the present city of Chicago, where he loaded his little vessel with furs and sent it on its return trip. The vessel foundered on Lake Michigan somewhere between Washington Island and Mackinaw.

Father Hennepin was probably the first white man to see Niagara Falls; he was certainly the first to make a sketch of them. When he sailed westward with La Salle Father Watteaux remained at Niagara as chaplain, being the first Catholic priest appointed to minister to white people within the territory now forming the state of New York.

In 1687 Marquis de Denonville entered the Seneca country with a strong force, and burned many of the Indian towns. He built a fort at Niagara which was at first called Fort Denonville, but later Fort Niagara. When he returned to Canada he left a force of a hundred men at the fort under the command of Sieur de Troyes. Father Lamberville was appointed chaplain. Denonville had promised to send on a supply of provisions at once, and a relieving force the following spring. The food sent to the garrison was unfit for use and the men were unable to supplement it by hunting or fishing as the Senecas, eight hundred in number, invested the fort soon after Denonville left. The garrison suffered so severely from scurvy and other diseases that only twelve were alive when spring came, and they would have been dead with the others had not a party of friendly Miamis come to their relief weeks before it was possible for the French at Montreal to reach them. Among the few who survived the winter was Father Lamberville who was taken to Catarouquoi, later known as Fort Frontenac, which was located on the site of the present city of Kingston.

Denonville sent out a new garrison for Niagara with Father Milet as chaplain, but on the 15th of September, 1688, the garrison was recalled and the fort abandoned. In those early days Niagara was another name for hardship and suffering.

Niagara was the key to the fur trade of the Ohio valley and the great lakes. If France held Niagara the furs went to Quebec, if the

PLAN OF FORT NIAGARA

OLD FORT NIAGARA

British held it the furs went to Albany or New York; so it was a struggle for trade quite as much as for territory. Niagara was an important link in a chain of French forts, the most important being at Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac.

In 1720 Joncaire, who was intimate with the Senecas and possessed much influence over them, built a blockhouse at Lewiston, having obtained their permission to do so.

The first permanent fort at Niagara was built in 1736 and was known as the "Castle" or "Mess House." This was added to and

strengthened from time to time and became the most important place in America south of Montreal and west of Albany. At one time the fortifications at Niagara covered nearly eight acres.

PRIDEAUX'S EXPEDITION

The story of this expedition was briefly told in the sketch of the life of Sir William Johnson, and though it will be in part a repetition, it needs to be given here as a part of the history of the Niagara frontier. Toward the end of June, 1759, about four thousand men had assembled at Oswego. They were under the command of General Prideaux and were destined for a movement against Fort Niagara. About one-quarter of the force was made up of Indians under the command of Sir William Johnson who was second in command of the expedition. The army reached Niagara on the 6th of July and completely invested the fort the following day. On the 19th Prideaux was killed by the premature bursting of a shell from a small mortar. Johnson succeeded to the command.

The fort at Niagara was a strong one, well supplied with provisions and ammunition and defended by six hundred men. Johnson, with a force at least five times as great, pushed the siege with great vigor.

When Prideaux was arranging for his movement against Niagara, Colonel d'Aubrey and other French partisan chiefs were gathering a force made up chiefly of bushrangers and Indians, for the purpose of retaking Fort Pitt. When Pouchot, the French officer in command at Fort Niagara, learned that the English were coming to attack him, he summoned d'Aubrey to his assistance. The French partisan leaders had about thirteen hundred men, two hundred of the number being Indians. They reached the vicinity of Fort Niagara on the 24th of July, five days after the death of Prideaux. To meet this movement Johnson was compelled to divide

his force into three bodies, one to guard his boats, another to man his trenches, and the third to meet d'Aubrey.

The contest with d'Aubrey was short but severe. The fight lasted only about half an hour. The French were disastrously beaten, one hundred forty-six being killed, a large number wounded, and more than one hundred taken prisoners, among the number being d'Aubrey himself. This action ended all hope of a successful defence of the fort and the following day Pouchot surrendered.

This was not long after the massacre at Fort William Henry, and the garrison was terrified fearing there would be a repetition of the scenes that took place at Lake George, but nothing of the kind occurred. Johnson permitted the Indians to pillage the fort, but not a person was injured. The immediate result of this campaign was the complete control of the Niagara frontier by the English, but the capture of Fort Niagara meant much more than that. It practically settled the control of the whole country. The English were to be supreme.

But all was not to be peace at once. The Seneca Indians had been the allies of the French and they were sullen and revengeful. Four years later Pontiac organized his conspiracy and the Senecas began a campaign against the English.

DEVIL'S HOLE MASSACRE

In 1761 the English built Fort Schlosser, a mile above the falls. Then they monopolized the portage business at the falls, which before had been wholly in the hands of the Senecas. The Indians were so ugly over this matter that the English had to maintain a garrison at each end of the portage and furnish guards of soldiers for all valuable trains of goods.

A new portage road was opened from Lewiston to Fort Schlosser. On the 14th of September, 1763, a train of twenty-five wagons, guarded by troops from Fort Niagara, set out for Fort

Schlosser. They were ambushed at Devil's Hole by a party of five hundred Senecas, who killed all but three of the party. The garrison at Lewiston heard the firing and two companies of troops hastened to the relief of their comrades. They, too, were ambushed at the same place and only eight of their number escaped. Some of these survivors carried the news to Fort Niagara, and the commander with nearly his whole force immediately set out for the scene of the massacre but the Senecas had fled.

This outrage on the part of the Senecas grew out of their supposed grievances over their loss of control at Niagara, but they would not have dared to attack the English but for the encouragement afforded by the conspiracy of Pontiac, and when the movement of the latter failed the Senecas were stricken with terror. They sent a delegation to see Johnson at Johnson Hall and beg for peace, which they obtained by deeding a large amount of territory to the English.

Sir William Johnson held a great council at Niagara in 1764. He met there more than two thousand Indians representing the tribes from Nova Scotia to the headwaters of the Mississippi. No such representative body of Indians had ever met in council with the whites. A treaty was made with each tribe separately. The Senecas ceded the English a strip of land two miles wide on each side of the Niagara River, and extending from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie. They reserved from this grant all the islands in the river. These they presented to Sir William personally, but he, of course, presented them to the English crown. The council lasted from the 3d of July till the 6th of August. It was more productive of good results than any other council ever held with the Indians. During the meeting of this council Great Britain expended $190,000 for presents for the Indians, and about $10,000 more to feed them during their stay.

During the Revolution Niagara was not only an important trading post, but it was the principal rendezvous of the Six Nations.

It was the point from which numerous parties of savages were fitted out to harry the New York frontier, especially in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys. Not only were the Indians permitted to use Niagara as a base for their horrible warfare, but they were given the utmost aid and encouragement as is shown by numerous letters and reports of Sir Guy Johnson. Had there been no Fort Niagara there would have been no massacre at Wyoming or Cherry valley. It was at Niagara that the Johnsons, the Butlers, Montour, and Brant, met to organize parties of savages for incursions into the white settlements.

Niagara was one of the points that the British refused to give up at the close of the Revolution, maintaining possession of it on one pretence and another till the 15th of August, 1796.

There were many matters of great interest that occurred on the Niagara frontier during the War of 1812, but this work does not deal with events of so recent occurrence in the history of our state.

WEST POINT AND THE LOWER HUDSON

Securing the control of the Hudson River was a favorite project with the British as its possession would enable them to cut the colonies in twain and subdue each section in turn. Not only would the control of the Hudson enable them to open a road to Montreal and so cut off the New England colonies, but once in possession of Albany they would easily overrun the Mohawk valley, give encouragement to the many Tories there, and be in close touch with their Indian allies, the Iroquois.

The Americans were as anxious to prevent the control of the Hudson by the British, as the latter were to secure it. After extended investigation it was decided that West Point offered the best location for defensive works. The river was very narrow there, not much over fourteen hundred feet wide; the banks were high; mountains overlooking the river on all sides; and at this point the river bent almost at right angles so that cannon would control for a long distance, and obstructions to navigation could easily be placed and maintained. Beside all these advantages there was a high, rocky island in the river just above West Point that could be fortified readily. The plan of West Point given on page 236 makes the situation clear.

The occupation of West Point by the Americans was a constant menace to New York, therefore the British had a double reason for desiring possession of the Hudson. The struggle for West Point enabled Arnold to carry into effect the treasonable purposes he had for some time entertained. There is in all American history no sadder incident than that of Arnold's treachery. A strong, brave

man, who had made a fine record as a soldier, by a single act destroyed for all time all the esteem in which he had been held. While the treason of Arnold can never be forgotten nor condoned,

PLAN OF WEST POINT

one cannot forget the part he took at Quebec, and at Saratoga, nor can one overlook the fact that he was not always treated fairly.

Benedict Arnold was a descendant, and namesake, of one of the early governors of Rhode Island. Young Arnold began business as an apothecary, and later added to his enterprise the selling of books and stationery. At the outbreak of the Revolution he marched to Cambridge in the command of a company. He was with Allen at

Ticonderoga, and wherever he was he was in the thickest of the fight. By many he was regarded as the hero of Saratoga.

Arnold was not advanced as rapidly as he felt he should be, and on several occasions he was deeply humiliated, but had there not been a lack in his character, somewhere, we should not now have to tell the story of his treason. While Arnold was at Philadelphia he married Margaret Shippen, a daughter of one of the Tory residents of the city. Arnold, who was always fond of display, lived far beyond his means at this time. He kept a coach, servants in livery, gave splendid banquets, and in such ways incurred debts that he could not meet. He was accused of raising money in improper ways, and on being tried was acquitted on two charges, but found to be guilty in some measure on others. A part of the court before whom he was tried voted to cashier him, but the majority decided that he should be reprimanded by his Commander-in-Chief. Washington performed this duty with all possible delicacy, for he had always been a friend of Arnold's, and he did not believe there had been any wrong intent.

This was the condition of affairs that existed when Arnold sought the command at West Point, which Washington gladly gave him. Even at this time Arnold had been in treasonable correspondence with the British. The picture is the blacker because Arnold sought this position that he might betray not only his country, against which he thought he had grievances, but his commander as well, who had always been his friend, and who had done all that he could to shield him from criticism, and to promote his interests.

While at West Point Arnold occupied as his headquarters the Beverley Robinson House, which was situated on the east bank of the Hudson, nearly opposite West Point, and at the foot of Sugar Loaf Mountain. The house was built about 1750 by Colonel Beverley Robinson, son of John Robinson, President of the colony of Virginia. The grounds contained about a thousand acres. The estate came to Robinson through his wife, a daughter of Frederick Philipse. During the Revolution Robinson sided with the British and raised a

regiment of loyalists for the British service. At the close of the war his estate was confiscated. The house was destroyed by fire in 1892, being at that time the property of Hamilton Fish. Washington was at this house frequently, and Putnam and other American officers made their headquarters there. It was at this house that Washington

THE BEVERLEY ROBINSON HOUSE

had the sad interview with the almost distracted Mrs. Arnold after the discovery of the treason of her husband. It was to this house that Roger Morris and his wife came when they were obliged to flee from New York when that city was occupied by the American troops. It was at this house that Hamilton and Lafayette were at dinner when they received the despatch announcing the capture of Major André.

ANDRÉ

A correspondence had been carried on between André and Arnold for some time, André writing over the signature John

Anderson, while Arnold signed himself "Gustavus." It became necessary to have a meeting between Arnold and some one who could speak for Sir Henry Clinton with authority. Major André was chosen to act in that capacity. It was at first planned to have the meeting take place at Dobb's Ferry, and Arnold went down the river in his barge for that purpose, but owing to some misunderstanding his boat was fired upon and he was compelled to withdraw. He returned to West Point, and André, who was at Dobb's Ferry, went back to New York.

The first effort to bring about a meeting had resulted in failure. There was further correspondence, after which André went up the river as far as Teller's Point, where, on board the *Vulture,* he waited until a meeting with Arnold could be arranged. Arnold was aided in this matter by Joshua Hett Smith, who lived on the west side of the river, about two and a half miles below Stony Point. His house has long been known as the "Treason House," because Arnold and André met there and arranged their plans for the surrender of West Point. To what extent Smith was in the confidence of Arnold will probably never be known. Whether Smith was a Tory, or whether he was deceived by Arnold, will always be a matter of some doubt.

On Thursday, the 21st of September, 1780, at about midnight, Smith, with two of his tenants acting as boatmen, rowed out to the *Vulture.* André was brought ashore and met Arnold about two miles below Haverstraw, at the foot of Long Clove Mountain. The two men talked together till morning, when, not having completed their plans, they went to Smith's house, André going very reluctantly. As they reached the house they heard the sound of cannonading. Colonel Livingston, who was in command at Verplanck's Point, had opened fire on the *Vulture,* which he compelled to drop down the river. Arnold and André remained in consultation nearly all day. At the close of their conference Arnold returned to the Robinson House in his barge, having given passports to André which would enable him to pass the American lines at that point.

Arnold's movements caused no suspicion as he had accounted for them in advance in a very plausible way.

The *Vulture,* after having been driven down the river, returned and waited for André, but Smith for some reason would not row him out to the vessel. Being compelled to attempt his return by land André, with Smith for a guide, set out on horseback a little before

TREASON HOUSE

sunset. André changed his military suit for citizen's clothes which Smith furnished. They went up the river as far as King's Ferry, where they crossed over to Verplanck's Point. From this point they went to Crompound, where they were stopped by a sentinel, who insisted upon seeing their pass. They remained over night with one Andreas Miller, and set out early in the morning, taking the road to Pine's Bridge. When within two miles of this place they stopped and took breakfast with a Mrs. Sarah Underhill. Here Smith left and hastened back to the Robinson House to report André's movements to Arnold.

It had been planned to have André go from Pine's Bridge to White Plains, but he heard such reports as to the safety of the route that he changed and took the road to Tarrytown instead. When near the latter place he was halted by three men, John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Van Wart. The following quotations from the testimony which these men gave later is of interest. Paulding said: "Myself, Isaac Van Wart and David Williams were lying by the side of the road about half a mile above Tarrytown, and about fifteen miles above Kingsbridge, on Saturday morning, between nine and ten o'clock, the 23d of September. We had lain there about an hour and a half, as near as I can recollect, and saw several persons we were acquainted with whom we let pass. Presently, one of the young men who were with me said, 'There comes a gentleman-like looking man, who appears to be well dressed, and he has boots on, and you better step out and stop him, if you do not know him.' On that I got up and told him to stand, and then asked which way he was going. Then he said, 'I am a British officer, out in the country on particular business, and I hope you will not detain me a minute,' and to show that he was a British officer he pulled out his watch. Upon which I told him to dismount. He then said, 'My God! I must do anything to get along,'

MOVEMENTS OF ARNOLD AND ANDRÉ

and seemed to make a kind of a laugh of it, and pulled out General Arnold's pass, which was to John Anderson to pass all guards to White Plains and below. Upon that he dismounted. Said he, 'Gentlemen, you had best let me go, or you will bring yourselves into trouble, for your stopping me will detain the general's business;' and he said he was going to Dobb's Ferry to meet a person there and get intelligence for General Arnold. Upon that I told him I hoped he would not be offended; that we did not mean to take anything from him; and I told him there were many bad people on the road, and I did not know but perhaps he might be one."

Williams gave the following testimony: "We took him into the bushes and ordered him to pull off his clothes, which he did; but, on searching him narrowly, we could not find any sort of writings. We told him to pull off his boots, which he seemed to be indifferent about; but we got one boot off, and searched in that boot and could find nothing. But we found that there were some papers in the bottom of his stocking next to his foot; on which we made him pull his stocking off, and found three papers wrapped up. Mr. Paulding looked at the contents and said he was a spy. We then made him pull off his other boot, where we found three more papers at the bottom of his foot within his stocking. Upon this we made him dress himself, and I asked him what he would give us to let him go. He said he would give us any sum of money. I asked him whether he would give his horse, saddle, bridle, watch, and one hundred guineas. He said 'Yes,' and told us he would direct them to any place, even if it were that very spot, so that we could get them. I asked him whether he would not give us more. He said he would give us any quantity of dry goods, or any sum of money, and bring it to any place we might pitch upon, so that we might get it. Mr. Paulding answered, 'No, if you would give us ten thousand guineas you should not stir one step.' I then asked the person who had called himself John Anderson if he would not get away if it lay in his power. He answered, 'Yes, I would.' I told him I did not intend

he should. While taking him along we asked him a few questions and we stopped under the shade. He begged us not to ask him questions and said when he came to any commander he would reveal all."

The papers found on André showed the number and the distribution of the troops at West Point, the positions they would occupy in case of an attack, the location of the different forts and batteries, with the men and guns for the defence of each, and all such other information as an enemy would desire to have. Arnold agreed that in case an attack was made on West Point he would scatter the forces and so arrange in other ways that no effective defence could be made.

André was taken to North Castle, the nearest military post, and turned over to the commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who, unaccountable as it may seem, after reading the papers found on André, decided to send him to Arnold in charge of Lieutenant Allen. He did so, writing a letter to Arnold, saying that he had sent the captured papers to Washington. Soon after André left Major Tallmadge, the second in command at North Castle, learned what had been done. He declared that he was suspicious of Arnold and urged that André be brought back. To this Jameson gave a reluctant consent. The next day Major Tallmadge took André to Lower Salem and left him in charge of Lieutenant King. From here André was sent to the Robinson House, then to West Point, and from there to Tappan, where he was confined till his trial.

General Washington had been at West Point only a short time before the meeting of Arnold with André. He had gone on to Hartford and was to stop at West Point on his return from that place. He was back at West Point on the 24th of September, the day that the British had been expected to make their attack, for the scope of Arnold's treason contemplated the capture of Washington as well as West Point.

Washington returned from Hartford by the way of Fishkill. Soon after leaving the latter place he met the French Minister,

Luzerne, with his suite, and was persuaded to return with them to Fishkill and spend the night there. Early the following morning Washington and his staff were on their way to West Point, intending to breakfast with Arnold at the Robinson House, but as they approached the place Washington took another road, and Lafayette said, "General, you are going in the wrong direction." Washington replied humorously, "Ah, I know, you young men are all in love with Mrs. Arnold, and wish to get where she is as soon as possible. You may go and take your breakfast with her and tell her not to wait for me, for I must ride down and examine the redoubts on this side of the river, and will be there in a short time." However, the officers accompanied Washington, with the exception of two aids, who, at the request of Washington, rode on to notify Mrs. Arnold of the cause of the delay.

Breakfast was waiting when the aids arrived, and those present sat down. During the meal a letter from Colonel Jameson was handed to Arnold. It was the one Jameson wrote two days before, announcing the capture of André. Arnold asked to be excused, saying he was needed at West Point immediately. To his aids he said, "Say to General Washington that I have unexpectedly been called over the river and will return very soon." He went to his wife's room and sent for her. He told her that he must leave at once, and that they might never meet again, that his life depended upon his reaching the British lines before he was detected. Mrs. Arnold fainted. Leaving her in that condition Arnold hurried down stairs, mounted a horse and rode at full speed to the bank of the river, where his boat lay. He entered it and directed the men to row rapidly down the river, telling them that he was going on board the *Vulture* with a flag of truce, and that he was in great haste, as he was expecting Washington and wished to return as soon as possible.

Washington arrived at the Robinson House just after Arnold left. He received Arnold's message, took a hasty breakfast, and went over to West Point to meet him, and was greatly surprised to

find that Arnold was not there, and had not been for two days, and that the officer in charge had not heard from him in that time. Washington inspected the works and returned to Arnold's for dinner. As he was walking up from the dock he met Hamilton, who told him of Arnold's treason and flight. Calling upon Knox and Lafayette for counsel, Washington said, "Whom can we trust

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT TAPPAN

now?" Hamilton was sent immediately to Verplanck's Point in the hope of intercepting Arnold, but the traitor was already on board the *Vulture*.

Washington could not know whether or not others were involved in Arnold's treason, but he decided to take all the officers into his confidence. This was greatly appreciated by them, the more so because circumstances were somewhat against Jameson, and one or two others, though all were innocent of any wrong act.

André was tried by a board of fourteen general officers, Lafayette, Greene, Stirling and Steuben being among the number. He was declared to be a spy and condemned to suffer the death of one.

André did not seem to fear death greatly, but he dreaded to die the death of a spy, and begged that he might be shot instead of being hanged. Every one sympathized with him, but it seemed necessary that an example should be made of him, the more so that his case

CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRÉ

was very similar to that of Hale, for whom no mercy had been shown.

At Tappan André was confined in a stone mansion, afterward occupied as a tavern by Thomas Wandle. His trial took place in the old Dutch church.

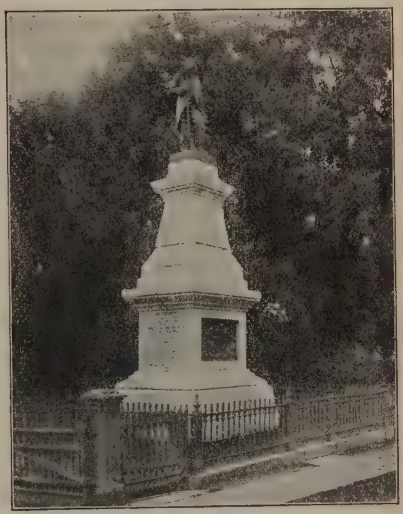
The Americans made strenuous efforts to capture Arnold, but without avail. General Clinton and other British officers pleaded earnestly for André's release, which of course could not be granted. Arnold wrote a letter to Washington threatening in case André was executed to retaliate upon every American whom he might afterward capture. Arnold's course after his treason did quite as much toward blackening his memory as did his treason itself.

André was arrested near Tarrytown on the 23d of September, and was executed at Tappan on the 3d of October of the same year.

His execution took place in the presence of the army, on the summit of a low hill about a quarter of a mile to the west of Tappan.

A monument has been erected at Tarrytown to the memory of John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Van Wart, the captors of André.

A monument to the memory of Williams has been erected on the grounds of the old fort at Schoharie, he having been a resident of Schoharie county for many years before his death. The Corporation of the City of New York erected a monument to the memory of John Paulding in the graveyard of the little church on the Van Courtlandt Manor, about two miles west of Peekskill. In 1829 the citizens of Westchester county erected a monument at Greenburgh in memory of Isaac Van Wart. While these men and their acts are kept in remembrance by the monument erected in their honor at the place where André was captured, the people among whom they lived also honored their act and commemorated their memory by suitable monuments.



MONUMENT TO THE CAPTORS OF ANDRÉ

THE MILITARY SCHOOL AT WEST POINT

Washington, mindful of the fact that a large portion of his trained officers during the Revolution were chosen from the ranks of foreign soldiers, because we lacked men who had had military

training, urged in his message of 1798 the establishment of a military academy. Congress being then, as often, very dilatory, nothing was done at that time toward acting upon Washington's recommendation. In 1798, 1800 and 1801 some provision was made for the instruction of cadets, but it was not until 1802 that the Military Academy can fairly be said to have come into existence, and it led a very feeble life till 1812; in fact, there was not a single cadet at

LOOKING NORTH FROM WEST POINT

West Point at the time of the declaration of war between Great Britain and the United States.

At this time Congress was willing to act, and provision was made for two hundred and fifty cadets. It was provided that admission to the Academy should be determined by examination, which had not previously been required.

Major Thayer was made the Superintendent of the Academy in 1817, and he held the position for sixteen years. To him, far more

than to any one else, is due the credit for the general plan of the school.

The usefulness of the Academy was fully justified during the Civil War, for although only the merest fraction of the officers engaged on either side had had any military experience, a very large portion of those who achieved eminence during the conflict owed their success to the training they received at West Point. This fact is shown by the careers of Grant, Lee, McClellan, Jackson, Sherman, Johnston, Burnside, Beauregard, Hooker, Pemberton, Sheridan, Longstreet, Thomas, Bragg, Halleck, Rosecrans, Early, Buel, Buckner, and many others.

The Academy has grown continually in equipment and in efficiency. There are now more than one hundred fifty buildings of various kinds in use, and Congress has appropriated several millions for further improvements.

KINGSTON

Our state government was organized at Kingston in 1777. It was there on the 30th of July, 1777, that George Clinton was declared elected the first governor of the state. Kingston received its first charter from Governor Stuyvesant in 1661. Kingston was the first capital of the state, and at the time it was made the capital had about twenty-five hundred inhabitants, being the third city of the state in population.

In 1776 the General Assembly of New York changed its title to "Convention of Representatives of the State of New York." The body appointed a committee to draft a constitution for a state government and then adjourned to meet in the city of New York on the 8th of July, but the appearance of Howe before that date prevented the meeting. The convention held short sessions at Harlem, White Plains and Fishkill, and then adjourned to meet at Kingston, where they reassembled in February, 1777, and continued in session till the following May. They met in a stone building that is sometimes

called the "Constitution House," and sometimes the "Old Senate House." Here the first constitution for the state of New York was adopted. John Jay was the chairman of the committee that drafted it and the work was mainly his. The draft of the constitution was submitted to the convention on the 12th of March. It was very

CONSTITUTION HOUSE AT KINGSTON

fully discussed and was adopted on the 30th of April, 1777. The work of drafting this constitution was so well done that we lived under it for forty-seven years, very few amendments being made during that time. This constitution was printed in pamphlet form at Fishkill by Samuel Loudon, on the only press in the state to which the patriots had access at that time. It is a matter of some interest that this was the first book printed in the state.

At the time of the advance of Sir Henry Clinton, in 1777, Fort Putnam was not yet completed, and there was no other fort at West Point on the west side of the river. Fort Constitution was opposite

West Point on what is now known as Constitution Island. Forts Montgomery and Clinton were opposite Anthony's Nose. Clinton easily made his way up the river. With him was General Vaughn with a force of thirty-six hundred men. All the vessels on the river were destroyed, and the houses of prominent Whigs were burned. The expedition reached Kingston on the 13th of October, 1777. A force was landed and the city was burned, only a few stone buildings escaping destruction. It was supposed that Clinton would go on up to Albany, but for some reason he went down the river again, and the surrender of Burgoyne a few days later made it impossible for Clinton to hold any part of the river above West Point.

ALBANY

This place was first known as Beverwyck (sometimes spelled Beaverwyck), then as Willemstadt, and finally as Albany. It was incorporated as a city by Governor Dongan in 1686.

A little church was built at Albany about 1657. In 1715 this was replaced by the one shown in the illustration on page 252. It was located in the open space bounded by State, Market and Court streets. The following is from Watson's "Sketches of Olden Times in New York": "Professor Kalm, who visited Albany in 1749, has left us some facts. All the people then understood Dutch. All the houses stood gable end to the street; the ends were of brick, and the side walls of plank or logs. The gutters on the roofs went out almost to the middle of the street, greatly annoying travellers in their discharge. At the stoopes (porches) the people spent much of their time, especially on the shady side, and in the evening they were filled with both sexes. The streets were dirty by reason of the cattle possessing their free use during the summer nights. They had no knowledge of stoves, and their chimneys were so wide that one could drive through them with a cart and horses."

Albany was the natural gateway to the north and west. This

gateway had to be held against the French and Indians in the early days, and later against the British and the Six Nations. From the earliest times Albany has been a place of great importance. It is said to be the second oldest existing settlement in the original thirteen colonies. In 1524 Verrazano went up the Hudson, and not long after some French traders built a fortified trading post on Castle Island. Hudson did not come till eighty-five years later. At the time that the French first came to the vicinity of Albany it would

ANCIENT DUTCH CHURCH AT ALBANY

have been vastly more proper to have spoken of America as the "Dark Continent" than to have applied that name to Africa fifty years ago.

When Albany became a city in 1686 it was second in population and resources to New York only, and hardly second to it in importance. For a century and a half everything to the west and north of Albany, save the little hamlet at Schenectady, and the French settlements on the St. Lawrence, was an unbroken wilderness.

In the early days not only the peace and comfort, but the actual existence of Albany was dependent upon the friendship of the Six Nations. This was very carefully cultivated by the Dutch. Once,

at a council fire, a Mohawk sachem gave Albany the name of "The House of Peace."

During the French wars Albany was a storehouse for munitions of war, and the rendezvous for troops. It was one of the busiest places on the continent.

In 1754 a convention of colonial delegates was held at Albany for the avowed purpose of renewing treaties with the Six Nations, but also with the hope of creating some bond of union between the colonies, the need of which had long been felt. Seven of the colonies, New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, responded to the call. Many very able men were among the delegates, Benjamin Franklin being one of the delegates from Pennsylvania. He presented a plan for the union of the colonies, which, after much debate, was approved by the convention, but nothing came from it directly, though no doubt it aroused a train of thought which in time bore fruit. James DeLancey was chosen president of the convention and made an address to the Indians. The chief speaker for the Six Nations was King Hendrick.

Albert Shaw says Albany has long been one of the three or four chief law making centres of the English speaking world.

NEWBURG

When at Newburg Washington occupied for his headquarters a house built in 1750 by Colonel Jonathan Hasbrouck. The house is now owned by the state, and is open for visitors at all times. It contains many military relics.

While Washington made his headquarters at Newburg, Generals Knox, Greene, Gates, and Colonels Biddle and Wadsworth were at Vail's Gate, four miles south of Newburg. They made their headquarters in the Ellison House, which is not now standing. It was while he was at Newburg that Washington received the

famous Nicola letter, in which the writer went on to say the troops were without pay, and that Congress was either indifferent or helpless; that the form of government was weak and that many thought it best to put all authority in the hands of one man. He argued that republics were weak and that whatever progress had been made was due to the army and not to the civil government. This whole matter had been much discussed by several officers in the army, and Colonel

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT NEWBURG

Nicola was selected to present the matter and suggest that Washington become practically king and ultimately assume that title. Nicola performed his task as tactfully as such a task could be performed, perhaps, but its effect upon Washington might easily be imagined. His reply to Colonel Nicola is given here.

NEWBURGH, May 22d, 1782.

COLONEL LEWIS NICOLA.

SIR:—With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment, I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my approval.

Be assured, sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army as you have expressed, and which I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. For the present the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary.

I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischief that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. At the same time, in justice to my own feelings, I must add that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see ample justice done to the army than I do, and so far as my powers and influence, in a constitutional way, extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself, or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself, or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature. With esteem, I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

TWO NOTED HOUSES

THE Verplanck House is about two miles north-east of Fishkill Landing, and a mile from the river. During the Revolution it was owned by Samuel Verplanck. Baron Steuben had his headquarters

THE VERPLANCK HOUSE

here. It was here that the Nicola letter was written, and here that the Society of the Cincinnati was formed in 1783.

It was at Dobb's Ferry that Rochambeau and Washington met and planned the Yorktown campaign. In 1780 Washington made the Livingston House at Dobb's Ferry his headquarters for a short time. With him were Lafayette, Stirling, Steuben, Knox, Greene and Hamilton.

In 1781 Washington was at this house for several weeks and with him were many distinguished French officers. It was at this house that he met Carleton to arrange for the evacuation of New York by the British.

There is so much to be said of the Lower Hudson that one scarcely knows when or where to stop, but stop one must some time. Perhaps no better place will be found to conclude than at this point,

VAN COURTLANDT MANOR HOUSE

though the story of the capture of Stony Point by the dashing Anthony Wayne is left untold; the Van Courtlandt Manor House, where Washington, Franklin, Rochambeau and Lafayette were guests, and from whose veranda George Whitefield once preached, has not been mentioned; the many interesting details of West Point have not even been alluded to; and a wealth of historic matter is left untouched.

One never thinks of the Hudson without also thinking of Wash-

ington Irving and "Rip Van Winkle"; Joseph Rodman Drake and "The Culprit Fay"; Fenimore Cooper and "The Spy"; Clement C. Moore and "The Night Before Christmas"; of George P. Morris, N. P. Willis, Miss Warner, E. P. Roe, and Gulian C. Verplanck.

Of the beautiful Hudson Bayard Taylor wrote: "The glorious river—still, to my eyes, after seeing the Danube, the Rhine, the Rhone, the Nile and the Ganges—the most beautiful river in the world."

ALONG LAKE CHAMPLAIN

Linked to many a wild tradition
In the grimy wigwam told,
Where the red men breathless listened
To the Mohawk hunter bold—
Girt about with mystic legends
That have not been breathed in vain,
'Neath the clear skies of the Northland,
Lie the waters of Champlain.

—Thomas C. Harbaugh

This beautiful lake, rivalled in our state only by Lake George, was named in honor of Samuel Champlain, its discoverer, who, in 1609, passed over its resplendent surface, and gazed with delight upon its magnificent setting, as he with a war party of Hurons and Algonquins passed through it on an expedition against the Mohawks.

Lake Champlain had several Indian names not often used, and there is a difference of opinion as to what names the Indians did apply to this body of water. It has sometimes been spoken of as "The Lake of the Iroquois," and occasionally it is called "Lake Corlear," in honor of Arendt Corlear, spoken of elsewhere, who was drowned in its waters.

Lake Champlain is about ninety miles long and varies in width from less than a quarter of a mile to more than thirteen miles. It has an area of about five hundred square miles. Its average level is a trifle less than one hundred feet above tidewater.

There has been a difference of opinion as to where Lake Champlain really begins. It is now generally regarded as beginning at Whitehall, but some of the early writers claimed that the lake began at Ticonderoga, and the part south of that was a part of Wood

MAP OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN

Creek. Other early writers claimed that the lake proper began at Crown Point.

Assuming for our purposes that the first statement is correct we will give a brief review of the matters and places of historic interest associated with this section of our state.

In 1763 one Philip Skene, an English major who had retired on half pay, settled at what is now known as Whitehall, but which then and for some time after was known as Skenesborough. Ten years later there were seventy-three families in that locality, all but two being tenants of Skene's. Skenesborough was regarded as a place of considerable importance during the Revolution.

Two miles north of Whitehall, on the west side of the lake, is an inlet about a mile wide and seven miles long, known as South Bay. Dieskau went up this bay on his way to attack Johnson in 1755.

Twenty-four miles north of Whitehall is old Fort Ticonderoga, which we have already

described. Twelve miles farther north is Crown Point, where the French built Fort St. Frederic, which they demolished in 1759. General Amherst began a very much larger work in its place the same year. Remains of this fort are yet to be seen. The historical account of these forts has already been given.

Ten miles north of Crown Point and on the opposite side of the lake is a small bay, where Arnold, after his defeat by the British, ran the vessel *Congress* and four small gondolas aground and burned them.

At Vergennes, on Otter Creek, Macdonough fitted out the fleet with which he won his victory over the British on September 11, 1814.

On the 11th of October, 1776, Arnold, with a fleet of fifteen vessels, consisting of the schooners *Royal Savage* and *Revenge,* the sloop *Enterprise,* four galleys and eight gondolas, mounting eighty-four guns, and one hundred fifty-two swivels, and manned by about eight hundred men, engaged the British fleet of twenty-nine vessels, consisting of the ship *Inflexible,* the schooners *Maria* and *Carleton,* one radeau, one gondola, and twenty gunboats. These vessels mounted eighty-nine guns, and were manned by about seven hundred men. The engagement took place between Valcour Island and the west shore of the lake. The British were successful. The *Royal Savage* was sunk at the southern end of the island.

It was on Lake Champlain, somewhere between Crown Point and Fort Ticonderoga, very likely in the bay just north of Ticonderoga, that occurred the conflict between Champlain and the Mohawks, a conflict fraught with momentous consequences in that it arrayed the Iroquois against the French. This conflict occurred on the 30th of July, 1609.

Fort St. Anne, on Isle La Motte, in the northern part of Lake Champlain, was built by the French Captain La Motte, in 1642, to serve as a protection against the incursions of the Iroquois. In 1666 this fort was occupied by several companies of French troops.

In September of that year some six hundred troops were gathered there and about the same number of Canadian volunteers were on the mainland opposite. From this point a month later an expedition under the command of Tracy and Courcelle was sent against the Mohawks.

For a long time Lake Champlain was simply a thoroughfare. The first settlement in the Champlain valley was probably at Fort St. Anne in 1665. It was abandoned after a few years. The first permanent settlement was probably made at Crown Point, a fort being erected there by the French in 1731, and a settlement was soon formed about it.

Crown Point was the seat of French power on the lake till 1759. It was the rallying point of the many savage tribes who were affiliated with the French. It was here that they organized their expeditions against their enemies, here that they celebrated their victories or bemoaned their defeats. Many incongruous events occurred here, as was the case in most frontier towns. "The sounds of religious services were intermingled with the exultant shouts of victorious savages."

When the British came into possession of Crown Point they spent more than ten millions of dollars on the fort there, but it was never completed, and this vast amount was practically thrown away. After the defeat of Arnold the Americans abandoned their works at Crown Point, after destroying everything that they were unable to take to Ticonderoga on their retreat. When the French abandoned Crown Point in 1759 they sank one schooner and three sloops at the north end of Valcour Island.

As Burgoyne was passing up the lake with his army he halted for a time at Cumberland Head waiting the arrival of ammunition and stores. Upon their arrival he went up the lake as far as Bouquet River, where he was joined by about four hundred Indians, to whom he gave a war-feast at their encampment near the falls of the river.

During the War of 1812 there was much activity in the vicinity of Plattsburg. On the 31st of July, 1813, Colonel Murray with a force of about fourteen hundred men entered Plattsburg without resistance and proceeded to destroy the blockhouse, arsenal, armory, hospital, and the military cantonment near Fredenburgh Falls, about two miles from Plattsburg. In addition to this three private stone houses were burned and several private buildings plundered.

On the 3d of September, 1814, fourteen thousand British troops were collected at Champlain. They were under the command of Sir George Provost. On the 4th they reached Chazy, and the night of the 5th they encamped near Sampson's, about eight miles from Plattsburg.

To oppose this force there were only four thousand Americans who were under the command of General Macomb. There was considerable fighting on the morning of the 6th, with a loss of forty-five killed and wounded on the part of the Americans, and more than two hundred of the British. Both sides spent the next few days in strengthening their positions. The Americans sent their sick and wounded to Crab Island. A small battery, mounting two six-pounders, was established there.

On the 11th the British fleet, which had been at Isle La Motte, moved south to attack the Americans under Macdonough. The British under Captain Downie had seventeen vessels mounting ninety-five guns and manned by more than a thousand men. The Americans had fourteen vessels mounting eighty-six guns and manned by about eight hundred fifty men. In every respect the Americans seemed to be outclassed.

After a conflict so severe that "there was not a mast in either fleet fit for use," the Americans won a decisive victory, capturing the largest British vessel. The engagement lasted two hours and a half and was the most bitterly contested naval fight of the war.

During the naval contest the British attacked the Americans on

land, but on the defeat of the British fleet Provost withdrew his forces to Canada.

Since the battle of Plattsburg the Champlain lake and valley have been the scene of active commerce and a favorite resort for tourists and summer visitors.

THROUGH THE MOHAWK VALLEY

The Mohawk valley is now the great trade route to the west. In the early days it was of no less importance. From our first knowledge of it to the close of the Revolution it was a great war route. Through this valley the tide of war surged back and forth for many generations. Almost every rod of its land is historic. The fights and massacres that took place here were so numerous and so bloody that that section was known as "the dark and bloody ground."

In the preceding pages some of the more important events of the Mohawk valley have been mentioned, but no clear general view of its history has been given. Not all the events of consequence can be given now, but it is hoped that a clear picture of life in the valley in the early and strenuous days may be given the reader. We shall interest ourselves chiefly with that part of the valley extending from Schenectady on the east to Rome on the west. It was at these two points and in the territory between them that the most important events in the history of the valley occurred.

For a long time Schenectady was the extreme frontier post to the west and so was constantly exposed to attacks by the French and the Canadian Indians. Until 1665 Schenectady was a part of Albany, and it remained a part of Albany county till 1809.

One of the most prominent of the early inhabitants of Schenectady was Arendt Van Curler, or as he is more frequently called, Corlear. He visited the site of Schenectady as early as 1642, though the place was not settled until 1662.

Upon the assignment of lots at the organization of the village the one occupied by Corlear was where the Mohawk club house now stands.

Van Corlear was very popular with the Mohawks. No man, with the possible exception of Peter Schuyler and Sir William Johnson, ever enjoyed the confidence of the Indians to the extent that Corlear did. This is evidenced by the fact that the Mohawks always called the governor of the colony "Corlear."

Corlear was the acknowledged leader of the Schenectady settlement. He came from Holland in 1630 to superintend the Van Rensselaer manor and served in that capacity till 1646. During a portion of this time he was the secretary of the colony. He married in 1643 and settled on the "Flatts" above Albany, where he lived till he joined with others in settling Schenectady.

While Van Corlear was living at the "Flatts" he learned of the captivity of Father Jogues, and visited the Mohawk country to secure his release, but without success. Later he was instrumental in aiding Jogues to escape.

On his return from this mission into the Mohawk country, Van Corlear wrote to his employer, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, that "half a day's journey from the Colonie, on the Mohawk River, there lies the most beautiful land that the eye of man ever beheld." With this feeling toward the Mohawk valley it is not strange that he was among the first settlers who went into that country, though it was the extreme frontier post of the colony and certain for many years to be exposed to all the dangers of frontier life.

It has been learned through a diary kept by Van Corlear, which was discovered and published a few years since, that he visited the Mohawk valley as early as 1634. In this diary Van Corlear says that he and two other white men with five Indian guides left Fort Orange (Albany) on the 11th of December, 1634. The following is an extract from the diary:

"Dec. 13. In the morning we went together to the Castle over the ice that had frozen during the night in the kil (river) and, after going half a mile (a Dutch mile is about three English miles) we arrived at their first Castle, which is built on a high mountain. There stood thirty-six houses, in rows

like streets, so that we could pass nicely. The houses are made and covered with the bark of trees, and mostly are flat at the top. Some are a hundred, ninety, or eighty paces long, and twenty-two and twenty-three feet high. There were some inside doors of hewn boards, furnished with iron hinges. In some houses we saw different kinds of iron chains, harrow irons, iron hoops, nails,—all probably stolen somewhere. Most of the people were out hunting deer and bear. The houses were full of corn that they lay in store, and we saw maize; yes, in some of the houses more than three hundred bushels."

THE MABIE HOUSE

Van Corlear was drowned in Lake Champlain in the year 1667 while on his way to Montreal with a party of Mohawks. For many years after this event the Five Nations spoke of that body of water as Corlear's Lake.

The story of the massacre at Schenectady has been told in the preceding pages. Until 1772 Albany county extended toward the west without any well defined boundaries. During the year 1772 Tryon county was organized. It included all the territory of the province west of Albany. It was divided into four districts,

each with a large territory sparsely settled. The district farthest to the east was called Mohawk. It included Johnstown, and was completely dominated by the Johnsons. The territory west of the Mohawk district, on the south side of the river, as far west as Little Falls, was known as the Canajoharie district; and the corresponding territory north of the Mohawk constituted the Palatine district; all the territory on both sides of the river, west of the Canajoharie and the Palatine districts formed the German Flatts and Kingsland district.

If we begin at Schenectady and pass westward till we reach Rome, considering the important events of each locality as we reach it, a clearer picture will be presented than if we studied the same events in the order in which they occurred. A study of the map of the Mohawk valley will be found to be very helpful.

Some seven miles west from Schenectady, and about a mile west of Rotterdam, is an old house built of stone laid closely together without mortar. It is on a high bluff commanding a fine view. It is of interest chiefly because it is probably the oldest house in the valley, having been built in 1780 or a little earlier. Its original owner was Jan Mabie, and the place is now owned by his descendants, though not occupied by them.

THE BEUKENDAAL FIGHT

What was known as the "Beukendaal Massacre" took place about midway between Schenectady and Hoffman's Ferry, about three miles from the former place. It was in no sense a massacre, but was a very bloody fight. It is of no historical importance outside the immediate locality, but is typical of many of the encounters that took place on the frontier, and for that reason may well be described. Beukendaal is the Dutch word for beechdale, and suggests the character of the country where the fight occurred.

In July, 1747, Daniel Toll, accompanied by a negro servant and a companion named Dirck Van Vorst, went from Schenectady to

Beukendaal in search of some stray horses. While looking for them they heard what they thought was horses stamping. Going in the direction of the sound they entered an open space, where a party of Indians were playing quoits, making on the clayey ground the noise Toll and his companions mistook for the stamping of horses. They discovered their mistake too late. Toll was killed and Van Vorst captured, but the negro escaped and carried the news to Schenectady. About the same time Adrian Van Slyck, who was on his farm which lay on the river road toward Amsterdam, about a mile from Scotia, learned of the presence of the Indians and sent for help. Four parties, numbering in all about sixty men, responded to the calls. They did not come together, but in parties separated by about an hour's time. The parties were made up in the main of young men who were without experience or discipline, and did not even have a leader. It was the old, old story of zeal without prudence, which was exemplified so many times on the frontier.

The first party to arrive saw, as they thought, Mr. Toll sitting with his back to a fence and in front of him a crow, which would fly short distances, but not leave the immediate vicinity of Toll. This aroused the curiosity of the men and they hastened to investigate, and were met by a storm of bullets from the hidden Indians, who had planned what proved to be a successful ambuscade. Many of the whites were killed, some taken prisoners, but a portion succeeded in escaping and reaching a deserted house belonging to a Mr. DeGraaf. On their retreat they were met by another party sent out to rescue Toll and his companion. The two forces fought desperately with the Indians. It was a hand to hand fight. They finally reached the house, entered it and barricaded the doors and windows. A little later the Schenectady militia appeared and the Indians withdrew. In the fight twenty of the whites were killed, thirteen or fourteen taken prisoners, and a number wounded.

The Toll mansion and the DeGraaf house are still standing. The Toll mansion is about half way between Schenectady and Hoffman's

Ferry. It is about forty rods from the Central Railroad on the right hand side as one goes to the west. A little to the east of the Toll mansion, but not in sight from the railroad, is the DeGraaf house, one of the oldest in the valley.

FORT HUNTER

From its position at the juncture of the Schoharie Creek and the Mohawk, Fort Hunter was a place of considerable importance. The Mohawk Indians had a castle there before the erection of Fort Hunter. Their castle was destroyed by the French and the Canadian Indians in 1689 and again in 1693. In 1709 Peter Schuyler accompanied several of the Indian kings, so called, to London. Queen Anne took a great interest in them and promised to provide them with a chapel, a school, and a fort. The fort was erected at the junction of the Schoharie Creek and the Mohawk River south of the Mohawk, and on the east bank of the Schoharie. It was named Hunter in honor of the governor of the colony. The fort was one hundred and fifty feet square, with a blockhouse at each corner large enough to accommodate twenty men.

Surrounded by the palisades of the fort was Queen Anne's Chapel. It was built of limestone, was twenty-four feet square, and had a belfry and a bell. The chapel was furnished by Queen Anne. It had an organ, the first one ever seen west of Albany, preceding the one at Johnstown by more than fifty years. The Queen furnished a communion tablecloth, damask napkins, carpet for communion table, altar cloth, Holland surplice, cushion for desk, large Bible, prayerbooks, book of homilies, silver salver, flagons and chalice, four paintings of Her Majesty's arms on canvas, twelve large octavo Bibles, two painted tables containing the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments, and a candelabrum with nine sockets.

At Fort Hunter the Indians built a schoolhouse twelve feet wide and thirty feet long. The Rev. Mr. Andrews had charge of this

school and had twenty children in attendance. When the Indians were all at home there were sometimes as many as one hundred and fifty attendants at church, thirty-eight of whom were communicants.

The communion set given by Queen Anne was entrusted to the care of Brant and has since been in charge of his descendants.

THE MOHAWK AT AURIESVILLE

During the Revolution the Mohawks buried it and at the close of the war they recovered it and took it to their new home in Canada.

Fort Hunter was a place of considerable importance during the Indian raids of 1778-80.

AURIESVILLE

A little to the west of Fort Hunter, on the south bank of the Mohawk, is the little hamlet of Auriesville. It was here or near here that Father Jogues and his associate Goupil were so brutally murdered. The society of which Father Jogues was a member

has erected at Auriesville a shrine in honor of his memory. It was at or near Auriesville that a portion of the Mohawks made their home after the destruction of their castle at Fort Hunter.

TRIBES HILL

A little to the north of Fort Hunter is Tribes Hill, not of great note historically, yet frequently referred to in the history of the valley. Some of the men who were active in public affairs made their home there. It was the birthplace of Hendrick Hanson, the first white child born in the Mohawk valley, west of Schenectady. Hanson's father, Nicholas Hanson, emigrated from Albany to Tribes Hill about 1725. John Johnson in his raid through the valley in 1780 plundered Tribes Hill as he did other places.

THE BUTLER HOUSE

Not far from Tribes Hill is Switzer Hill, where is still standing the old house which was the home of the Butlers. It is about thirty rods south of the junction of the Tribes Hill road with that leading from Fonda to Johnstown. The house was built by Walter Butler, Sr., in 1743. Here lived in succession Captain Walter Butler, Sr., his son, Colonel John Butler, and his grandson, Lieutenant Walter Butler. Colonel John Butler was in command at Wyoming and was responsible for the horrible massacre at that place. His son, Lieutenant Walter Butler, will be forever execrated because of the massacre at Cherry Valley. Both father and son were concerned in the greater part of the Indian raids and massacres which resulted in almost depopulating the Mohawk valley during the Revolution.

Walter was killed after the Battle of Johnstown. There are many versions of the affair. The one most commonly given is that he was killed by an Oneida Indian at a place that has since been known as Butler's Ford. It is said that Butler on his retreat after the battle had reached the East Canada Creek at a place about fif-

teen miles above Herkimer. He swam the stream on his horse, then turned and shouted defiance at his enemies who were pursuing him. At that moment he was shot by the Oneida referred to, who swam across the creek and tomahawked him, though Butler pleaded in vain for mercy. It is said that the Indian replied to Butler's pleadings by saying, "Sherry Valley! Remember Sherry Valley!"

THE BUTLER HOUSE

About all that is certainly known is that Butler was killed at the place mentioned.

The story of Johnstown has already been fully told.

STONE ARABIA

Stone Arabia was a little hamlet about three miles north of Palatine. During the Revolution there was a small fort there known as Fort Paris. Colonel Brown was stationed there with a force of one hundred and thirty men. When Sir John Johnson made his raid through the valley General Van Rensselaer ordered Colonel Brown

to hold the enemy in check, so that he could attack them in the rear. Colonel Brown obeyed orders, but owing to some delay General Van Rensselaer did not make the promised attack. Colonel Brown and thirty or forty of his men were killed.

FONDA

Where is now the village of Fonda was a hamlet known as Caughnawaga. The name was changed to Fonda in honor of Douw or Henry Fonda, or possibly in honor of both. Douw Fonda was one of the original patentees, and he and Henry Fonda were very active in building up the place. Just to the east of the present village of Fonda was the old Indian village of Caughnawaga. The town suffered much during the Revolution. It was burned by Sir John Johnson during his raid in 1780. The ancient Dutch church at Caughnawaga was founded in 1762 by Sir William Johnson. The principal supporters of the church were the Fonda, Vrooman, Wemple, and Veeder families. The first pastor of the church was the Reverend Thomas Romeyn.

ANCIENT DUTCH CHURCH AT CAUGHNAWAGA

CANAJOHARIE

Canajoharie is a thrifty little village on the south side of the Mohawk, a little over forty miles west of Schenectady. The upper Mohawk castle was located there. The parents of Joseph Brant lived in the Canajoharie district, but not where the present village is located. He made his home there till after the death of his first wife. The village was destroyed by the Indians in 1780. It was

here that Clinton gathered his forces and sent out an expedition against the Onondagas, then crossed over to the head of Otsego Lake on his way to join Sullivan.

THE PALATINES

Before considering the Palatine district it is necessary to have some understanding of the Palatines, who they were, why they came to this country, and the character of the people. The immigration of the Palatines forms one of the most interesting events in the history of the state, and the care of this people caused at least two colonial governors more concern than any other one matter connected with their administrations.

These people belonged to the lower Palatinate of the Rhine. They were ruled by an hereditary prince, who was styled the Count Palatine of the Rhine. The Palatine espoused the cause of Luther, and during the religious wars which followed, the territory of the Palatines was the battle ground of armies and was ravaged again and again. Louis XIV of France sent armies into the Palatinate and destroyed cities and towns, gardens and vineyards, and fields of grain. It is said that at one time there were two cities and twenty-five towns in flames. After this work of destruction the Palatines became exiles and wanderers. About the beginning of the eighteenth century they began to make their way into England. Later they sought homes in the new world and in this way they were encouraged by the English, who believed that these Palatines, being the hereditary foes of the French, would make desirable settlers in the country where the French and English were struggling for the possession of a continent.

The first of the Palatines who came to this country consisted of a party of forty under the leadership of Joshua Koekerthal. They settled in Orange county near Newburg in the spring of 1709. The following year about three thousand others came. They were settled on a tract of six thousand acres of land near Germantown,

Columbia county. The English government defrayed the expenses of this large party and became responsible for their maintenance for a year. In return the Palatines agreed to settle on such lands as should be allotted them, and not leave without the governor's permission. There was "graft" even in those early days and the poor Palatines suffered greatly in consequence. There is not time to tell very fully the story of their grievances. The land allotted them was not adapted for the business assigned them. Those who were able to meet their obligations to the English left, and joined their brethren in Pennsylvania, but the larger number was compelled by stress of circumstances to remain in this state. A new ministry had come into power in England and it repudiated the agreements made with the Palatines and would not allot them land till they had paid their debt to the English, and these poor people found themselves virtually in slavery. They had been promised five pounds in money for each person, but no part of it had been paid. They had been promised clothes, tools, seed, etc., but little was furnished them. Their children were taken from them without their consent and bound out till they were of age. They furnished three hundred men for the expedition against Canada, but they were never paid for their services and many of them came back to find their families starving. Many of them were sent to aid the garrison at Albany, and they also received no pay. The fall of the year came and many of these people went into the Schoharie valley, where the Indians had given them permission to settle; but when fifty families had reached the valley the governor ordered them not to occupy the land under penalty of being declared rebels. However, their necessities were such that they had no choice but to remain and take the chances of the governor's displeasure. Early the following spring the remainder of the Palatines on the Hudson joined their friends at Schoharie. The English seem to have done about all that they could to make life unendurable for the Palatines, who must have perished but for the friendship of the Indians. It is probable that the

Palatines would have avoided most of their troubles had they at first settled in Schoharie or in the valley of the Mohawk instead of being sent to the unfit place on the Hudson. It seems clear that most of the trouble grew out of a shameful effort on the part of a few men to gather wealth at the expense of the government.

A third party of Palatines came to this country in 1722. It was at about this time that these people made a settlement at German Flatts.

Macaulay, speaking of the Palatines, says, "They were honest, laborious men, who had once been thriving burghers of Mannheim and Heidelberg, or who had cultivated the vine on the banks of the Neckar and the Rhine; their ingenuity and their diligence could not fail to enrich any land which should afford them an asylum."

Among the Palatine names now to be met with in the valley are Hoffman, Bellinger, Hartman, Edick, Wever, Helmer, Becker, Kneiskern, Conrad, Young, Houck, Angell, Snyder, Wagner, Newkirk, Kline, Planck, and many others who are descendants of the people of whom Macaulay speaks so highly. One of Sir William Johnson's daughters married Daniel Claus, who was one of the Palatines, and a noted Indian fighter. Among the Palatines was a boy named John Peter Zenger, who was apprenticed to William Bradford, the printer, and later became a prominent figure in the city of New York.

PALATINE

Palatine, now known as Palatine Bridge, on the north side of the Mohawk and opposite Canajoharie, was one of the homes of the Palatines, as its name would indicate. The first settler in this town, and possibly the first west of Schenectady, was Heinrich Frey, a native of Switzerland, who occupied and laid claim to a tract of land there about 1690. The old homestead is still in possession of the family. The present house was erected in 1739, having been preceded by a log cabin.

The Frey house is built of stone and is on the right hand side of the Central road in going west, just a little to the west of Palatine Bridge.

FORT PLAIN

Fort Plain was situated upon high ground at the rear of the present village of the same name. It was of some importance in the

THE OLD FREY HOUSE AT PALATINE

early days, affording protection to the inhabitants of that vicinity. The cut of the old blockhouse there will give some idea of the means of defence on the frontier at that time. During the Revolution the government erected at this place a fort that was stronger than any other in that section of the country. It was used as a place of deposit for military stores for some years after the close of the war.

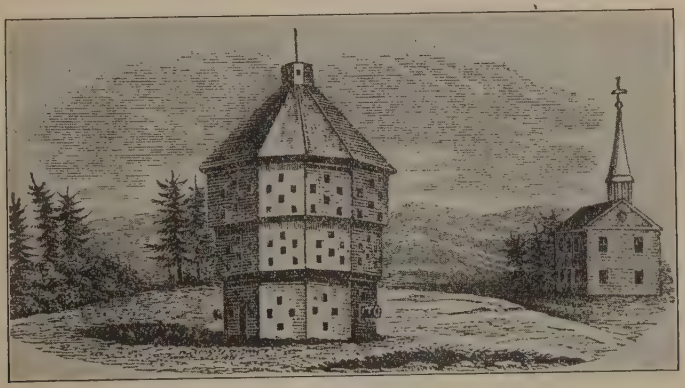
THE PALATINE CHURCH

Three miles to the east of the village of St. Johnsville is the old Lutheran meeting-house known as the Palatine Church. It is a

little to the north of the track of the Central Railroad and in plain sight to all who pass.

The church was built of stone and is in perfect condition to-day. It was dedicated August 18, 1770, and from that time till the present has been in constant use for religious purposes.

On the 18th of August, 1870, the centenary anniversary of the dedication of this church was appropriately observed. More than



ANCIENT BLOCKHOUSE, FORT PLAIN

five thousand people were present. Addresses were made by Reverend Charles A. Smith, who had been a pastor of the church more than half a century before; Prof. Geortner, of Hamilton College, and Governor Horatio Seymour.

The cost of erecting the church was borne by a small number of people. The lot was given by Hendrick W. Nellis, and Henry Nellis paid for building the steeple. The cost of the church exclusive of the gift of these two men was about six hundred seventy pounds, a very large sum for those times. William, Andrew, Johannes, Henry, Christian, and David Nellis, sons of the before mentioned Hendrick and Henry Nellis, gave sixty pounds each toward the erection of the church, and Johannes Hess gave a like sum. The

remainder of the expense, about two hundred pounds, was borne equally by Peter Waggoner and Andrew Reber.

In the spire was one of three noted triangles which was used to call the people together for service. One of the others was in the old Canajoharie Academy, and the third is still in use in the Court House in Johnstown.

DANUBE

The Indian Castle Church was situated in the town of Danube, Herkimer county, on the site of an early Indian mission. King Hendrick lived near here. The home of General Herkimer was in Danube and his house is still standing, an illustration showing the same being given elsewhere in this volume.

THE PALATINE CHURCH

The Indian Castle Church was built for the Indians before the Revolution, chiefly through the efforts of Sir William Johnson. There is still a small church on the old site which bears the name of Indian Castle Church.

STEUBEN

The town of Steuben in Oneida county was settled principally by the Welsh. The greater part of the town was given to Baron Steuben by the State of New York in recognition of his services during the Revolution. Congress gave him an annuity of $2,500 a year. He lived on his estate in the town of Steuben till his death on the 28th of November, 1794.

Steuben served many years in the army of Frederick the Great. He was one of the aids of the great general and held the rank of lieutenant-general. He came to this country in 1777, and offered his services to Congress, not asking any rank. He was made inspector-general with the rank of major-general.

On the walls of a German Lutheran church in the city of New York is the following inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of Frederick William Augustus Baron Steuben, a German; knight of the order of Fidelity; aide-de-camp to Frederick the Great, King of Prussia; major-general and inspector-general in the Revolutionary War; esteemed, respected, and supported by Washington. He gave military skill and discipline to the citizen soldiers, who, fulfilling the decrees of heaven, achieved the independence of the United States. The highly polished manners of the baron were graced by the most noble feelings of the heart. His hand, open as the day for melting charity, closed only in the strong hand of death. This memorial is inscribed by an American, who had the honor to be his aide-de-camp, and the happiness to be his friend."

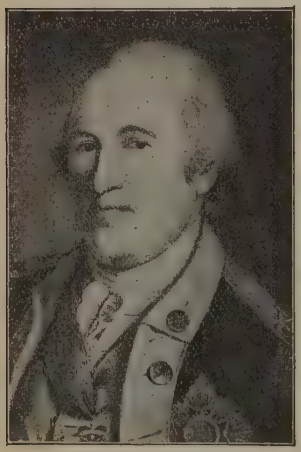
INDIAN CASTLE CHURCH

The place where Steuben lived is now known as Steubenville.

GERMAN FLATTS

German Flatts, now Herkimer, was settled almost wholly by the Palatines. By 1751 there had grown up a settlement of sixty dwellings and three hundred inhabitants. For many years the Palatines prospered, but on the 12th of November, 1757, M. de Belletre, with a party of marines, Canadians and Indians numbering about three hundred, destroyed the Palatine settlement. At this time the village contained sixty-five houses and five blockhouses, all of which

were burned. Though the inhabitants surrendered without resistance a considerable number was killed and about one hundred carried into captivity. Their property was destroyed and their stock killed or driven off. The following spring the Palatines south of the river were attacked by the French and Indians and several were killed, but the enemy was finally driven off. The year following brought another period of peace. The captured Palatines returned to their friends, rebuilt their homes, restocked their farms, and began another period of prosperity which lasted till the outbreak of the Revolution.



BARON STEUBEN

There were two forts in the Palatine settlement, Fort Dayton on the north side of the river within the boundaries of the present village of Herkimer, and Fort Herkimer on the south side of the river and near its bank. There were about seventy dwellings within the vicinity of these two forts.

On the 1st of September, 1778, Brant with a force of about four hundred fifty Tories and Indians attacked the place. The people escaped to the forts, but their property was destroyed. Houses, barns, grist and saw-mills, horses, cattle and sheep, all the fruits of their industry for many years, vanished in a few hours.

The Palatines bore much to maintain a principle. Twice their ancestors had suffered the extreme horrors of war on another continent in the last half of the seventeenth century, and twice in the last half of the eighteenth the homes of these people had been destroyed, and their farms laid waste in the new world.

Johnson held several councils with the Indians at German Flatts, one very important one in 1770, at which more than two

thousand Indians, representing the Six Nations and the Cherokees, were present.

The first liberty pole erected in the Mohawk valley was raised at Fort Herkimer in 1775. At an early day a church was erected at German Flatts for the use of white people. There had been an earlier mission church for the Indians.

LITTLE FALLS

The grist mill at this place was of much importance to the early settlers of the upper valley, and also to the people at Forts Herkimer

OCTAGON CHURCH, LITTLE FALLS

and Dayton after the destruction of German Flatts; and the burning of the mill by the Indians and Tories in June, 1782, was a serious misfortune.

A church was erected at Little Falls as early as 1796. It was of no historical importance, but is of interest as illustrating church construction of the time on the frontier, not that this type was common, but it shows how simply the people built then.

The first building erected within the limits of the present city of Utica was a mud fort, situated between Main street and the river. It was known as Fort Schuyler and is of interest now chiefly because it is sometimes confounded with the fort built at Rome, which was at first called Fort Stanwix, but during the Revolution was known as Fort Schuyler.

FORT STANWIX

Fort Stanwix was situated within the heart of the present city of Rome. It was built by General Stanwix after the defeat of Abercrombie at Ticonderoga, and was given the name of its builder. It was a square fortification of considerable strength and so placed as to command the portage between the Mohawk and Wood Creek, the latter being a stream flowing into Oneida Lake. There were several smaller works in the vicinity, the most important being Fort Newport on Wood Creek, and Fort Bull about midway between Forts Stanwix and Newport. At the time of the beginning of the Revolution Fort Stanwix, upon which more than a quarter of a million of dollars had been expended, an immense sum for those times, was in ruins. It was repaired and named Fort Schuyler. The first American flag floated from this fort, it being made from materials at hand. The importance of this fort has been shown in the account given of the battle of Oriskany.

A treaty of peace and amnesty was concluded between the Six Nations and the United States at Fort Stanwix in 1784. This resulted in setting at liberty many prisoners that had been held by the Indians.

In 1768 an important council was held here, in which representatives of Virginia, Pennsylvania and New Jersey met thirty-two hundred Indians of the Six Nations. The treaty concluded at that time was known as the "Treaty of Fort Stanwix."

DURING THE REVOLUTION

The Dutch and Germans were ardent Whigs, while the Highlanders and other retainers of the Johnsons formed the bulk of the Tories. Johnson organized his followers into a body known as "Johnson's Greens," who were the bitterest and most cruel of all the foes of the patriots, not even excepting the Indians. Most of the Six Nations cast their lot with the British, though the Oneidas and a few others remained neutral or sided with the patriots. Among the most active and efficient of the patriots were General Herkimer and the missionary Samuel Kirkland. Jacob Klock, Ebenezer Cox, Samuel Campbell, and many others were untiring in their efforts.

The colonists of the Upper Mohawk, who, almost to a man, were patriots, were cut off from ready communication with other Whigs by the intervening district of Mohawk, which was completely under the domination of the Johnsons.

In no other part of our country were the Tories so active and so malignant, or the Whigs so loyal and faithful, as in the valley of the Mohawk. In no other section did the Whigs suffer so severely in the cause of liberty. The story of the long struggle in the valley is one of intense interest. It has been briefly sketched in these pages, but the reader should not be content without fuller knowledge. He should read such works as "The Life of Sir William Johnson" and "The Life of Brant," by Stone; "The Annals of Tryon County," by Campbell; "The Old New York Frontier," by Halsey; "The History of Herkimer County," by Benton; "The History of Schoharie County," by Simms, and the many other volumes which the reading of these will suggest.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED

Below is given a list of the works consulted in preparing this volume. It is given for the benefit of those who may care to extend their reading in the direction indicated:

Memorial History of the City of New York	Wilson
History of the City of New York	Lamb
History of New York City	Stone
History of New York City	Valentine
Manuals of the Corporation of the City of New York	Valentine
New York, Old and New	Wilson
Historic New York	Goodwin, Royce, etc.
History of New York City	Todd
Story of the City of New York	Todd
History of the City of New York	Booth
A Landmark History of New York	Ulmann
In Old New York	Janvier
New York	Roosevelt
Colonial Days in Old New York	Earle
New Amsterdam and Its People	Innes
The Metropolitan City of America	A New Yorker
Annals of Old Manhattan	Colton
When Old New York was Young	Hemstreet
The Story of Manhattan	Hemstreet
New York City	Smith
The Province and the City of New York	Miller
Historical Discourse	De Witt
The League of the Iroquois	Morgan
The Iroquois Trail	Beauchamp
Iroquois Games	Beauchamp
Wampum and Shell Articles	Beauchamp
History of the Five Nations	Colden

Indian Biography	Thatcher
Buffalo and the Senecas	Ketchum
Life of Brant	Stone
Life of Sir William Johnson	Stone
Frontenac	Street
Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America	Fiske
The American Revolution	Fiske
The Conspiracy of Pontiac	Parkman
Montcalm and Wolfe	Parkman
A Half Century of Conflict	Parkman
Count Frontenac and New France	Parkman
The Old Régime in Canada	Parkman
La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West	Parkman
The Jesuits in North America	Parkman
Pioneers of France in the New World	Parkman
The Old New York Frontier	Halsey
Annals of Tryon County	Campbell
History of the State of New York	Brodhead
History of New York	Roberts
In the Mohawk Valley	Reid
The Hudson River	Bacon
Old Schenectady	Roberts
Life of General Philip Schuyler	Tuckerman
Sir William Johnson	Buel
History of Cherry Valley	Sawyer
The Sexagenary	Bloodgood
The Fort Edward Book	Bascom
History of the Town of Queensbury	Holden
Reminiscences of Saratoga	Stone
Story of Old Saratoga	Brandow
History of Herkimer County	Benton
History of Erie County	Johnson
History of Cooperstown	Shaw
Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution	Lossing
The Burgoyne Campaign	Stevens
Burgoyne's Invasion	Drake
Northern New York	Sylvester
Lake Champlain and Its Shores	Murray
Lake George and Lake Champlain	Butler
Centennial Celebrations of the State of New York	———

Sullivan's Expedition	————
Sullivan's Campaign	————
The Pathfinder of the Revolution	Griffis
The Battle of Oriskany	Roberts
Tarrytown and Sleepy Hollow	Bacon
Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier	Severance
A Brief History of Old Fort Niagara	Porter
Goat Island	Porter
Sketches of Ticonderoga	Cook
Life of Arnold	Sparks
History of West Point	Boynton
Documentary History of the State of New York	————
New York Historical Collections, First Series, Vols. I. and IV	————
New York Historical Collections, Second Series, Vol. I.	————
Historical Collections of the State of New York	Barber and Howe
Life of Mary Jemison	Seaver
Incidents of Lake George	De Costa
History of Brulé's Discoveries and Explorations	Butterfield
Cartier to Frontenac	Winsor
Historic Handbook of the Northern Tour	Parkman
Hochelaga	Warburton
History of Schoharie County	Simms
Old Quebec	Parker
Centennial of the United States Military Academy at West Point	————
History of Lake Champlain	Palmer
Documentary History of the State of New York	O'Callaghan

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION

AS AGREED UPON BY THE DUTCH AND THE ENGLISH

"These articles following were consented to by the persons here-under subscribed, at the Governor's Bowery, August the 27th, old style, 1664.

"I. We consent, that the States General, or the West-India Company, shall freely injoy all farms and houses (except such as are in the forts) and that within six months they shall have free liberty to transport all such arms and ammunition, as now does belong to them, or else they shall be paid for them.

"II. All publique-houses shall continue for the uses which they are for.

"III. All people shall continue free denizens, and shall injoy their lands, houses, goods, wheresoever they are within this country, and dispose of them as they please.

"IV. If any inhabitant have a mind to remove himself, he shall have a year and six weeks from this day, to remove himself, wife, children, servants, goods, and to dispose of his lands here.

"V. If any officer of state, or publique minister of state, have a mind to go for England, they shall be transported fraught free, in his Majesty's frigotts, when these frigotts shall return thither.

"VI. It is consented to, that any peoble may freely come from the Netherlands, and plant in this colony, and that Dutch vessels may freely come hither, and any of the Dutch may freely return home, or send any sort of merchandize home, in vessels of their own country.

"VII. All ships from the Netherlands, or any other place, and goods therein, shall be received here, and sent hence, after the manner which formerly they were before our coming hither, for six months next ensuing.

"VIII. The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline.

"IX. No Dutchman, or Dutch ship here, shall upon any occasion, be pressed to serve in war against any nation whatsoever.

"X. That the townsmen of the Manhattans, shall not have any soldiers quartered upon them, without being satisfied and paid for them by their officers, and that at this present, if the fort be not capable of lodging all

the soldiers, then the burgo masters, by their officers, shall appoint some houses capable to receive them.

"XI. The Dutch shall enjoy their own customs concerning their inheritences.

"XII. All publique writings and records, which concern the inheritences of any people, or the reglement of the church or poor, or orphans, shall be carefully kept by those in whose hands now they are, and such writings as particularly concern the States General, may at any time be sent to them.

"XIII. No judgment that has passed any judicature here, shall be called in question but if any conceive that he hath not had justice done him, if he apply himself to the States General, the other party shall be bound to answer for the supposed injury.

"XIV. If any Dutch living here shall at any time desire to travaile or traffique into England, or any place, or plantation, in obedience to his majesty of England, or with the Indians, he shall have (upon his request to the governor) a certificate that he is a free denizen of this place, and liberty to do so.

"XV. If it do appeare, that there is a publique engagement of debt, by the town of the Manhatoes, and a way agreed upon for satisfying that engagement, it is agreed, that the same way proposed shall go on, and that the engagement shall be satisfied.

"XVI. All inferior civil officers and magistrates shall continue as now they are (if they please) till the customary time of new elections, and then new ones to be chosen by themselves, provided that such new chosen magistrates shall take the oath of allegiance to his majesty of England before they enter upon their office.

"XVII. All differences of contracts and bargains made before this day and by any in this country, shall be determined according to the manner of the Dutch.

"XVIII. If it do appeare, that the West-India Company of Amsterdam, do really owe any sums of money to any persons here, it is agreed that recognition and other duties payable by ships going for the Netherlands, shall be continued for six months longer.

"XIX. The officers military, and soldiers, shall march out with their arms, drums beating, and colours flying, and lighted matches; and if any of them will plant, they shall have fifty acres of land set out for them; if any of them will serve as servants, they shall continue with all safety, and become free denizens afterwards.

"XX. If, at any time hereafter, the king of Great Britain and the States of Netherland do agree that this place and country be re-delivered into the

hands of the said states, whensoever his majestie will send his commands to re-deliver it, it shall immediately be done.

"XXI. That the town of Manhattans shall choose deputyes, and those deputyes shall have free voyces in all publique affairs, as much as any other deputyes.

"XXII. Those who have any property in any houses in the fort of Aurania, shall (if they please) slight the fortifications there, and then enjoy all their houses as all people do where there is no fort.

"XXIII. If there be any soldiers that will go into Holland, and if the Company of West-India in Amsterdam, or any private persons here will transport them into Holland, then they shall have a safe passport from Colonel Richard Nicolls, deputy-governor under his royal highness, and the other commissioners, to defend the ships that shall transport such soldiers, and all the goods in them, from any surprizal or acts of hostility, to be done by any of his majestie's ships or subjects. That the copies of the king's grant to his royal highness, and the copy of his royal highness's commission to Colonel Richard Nicolls, testified by two commissioners more, and Mr. Winthrop, to be true copies, shall be delivered to the honourable Mr. Stuyvesant, the present governor, on Monday next, by eight of the clock in the morning, at the Old Miln, and these articles consented to, and signed by Colonel Richard Nicolls, deputy-governor to his royal highness, and that within two hours after the fort and town called New Amsterdam, upon the isle of Manhatoes, shall be delivered into the hands of the said Colonel Richard Nicolls, by the service of such as shall be by him thereunto deputed by his hand and seal.

"John De Decker
Nich. Verleett
Sam. Megapolensis
Cornelius Steenwick
Oloffe S. Van Kortlant
James Cousseau
Robert Carr
Geo. Cartaret
John Winthrop
Sam. Willys
Thomas Clarke
John Pinchon

"I do consent to these articles,
"Richard Nicolls."

These articles were extremely favorable to the inhabitants of Manhattan, but were so disagreeable to Stuyvesant that for two days after they were signed by the commissioners he refused to ratify them, and finally yielded very reluctantly after the inhabitants had brought great pressure to bear upon him.

TRADE IN SCALPS

Extract of a letter from Captain Gerrish of the New England Militia dated Albany, March 7, 1782.

"The peltry taken in the expedition will, as you see, amount to a good deal of money. The possession of this booty at first gave us pleasure; but we were struck with horror to find among the packages eight large ones, containing scalps of our unhappy folks taken in the last three years by the Seneca Indians, from the inhabitants of the frontiers of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and sent by them as a present to Col. Haldiman, Governor of Canada, in order to be by him transmitted to England. They were accompanied by the following curious letter to that gentleman."

TIOGA, January 3rd, 1782.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

At the request of the Seneca chiefs, I send herewith to your Excellency, under the care of James Boyd, eight packs of scalps, cured, dried, hooped and painted with all the Indian triumphal marks, of which the following is invoice and explanation.

No. 1. Containing 43 scalps of Congress soldiers, killed in different skirmishes; these are stretched on black hoops, four inch diameter; the inside of the skin painted red, with a small black spot to note their being killed with bullets. Also 62 of farmers, killed in their houses; the hoops red; the skin painted brown, and marked with a hoe; a black circle all round to denote their being surprised in the night; and a black hatchet in the middle, signifying their being killed with that weapon.

No. 2. Containing 98 of farmers, killed in their houses; hoops red; figure of a hoe to mark their profession; a great white circle and sun, to show they were surprised in the daytime; a little red foot, to show they stood upon their defence, and died fighting for their lives and families.

No. 3. Containing 97 of farmers; hoops green, to show they were killed in their fields; a large white circle with a little round mark on it for the sun, to show that it was in the daytime; black bullet mark on some—hatchet on others.

No. 4. Containing 102 of farmers, mixed of the several marks above; only 18 marked with a little yellow flame, to denote their being of prisoners burnt alive; after being scalped, their nails pulled out by the roots, and other torments; one of these latter supposed to be of a rebel clergyman, his band being fixed to the hoop of his scalp. Most of the farmers appear by the hair to have been young or middle-aged men; there being but 37 very gray heads among them all; which makes the service more essential.

No. 5. Containing 88 scalps of women; hair long, braided in the Indian fashion, to show they were mothers; hoops blue; skin yellow ground, with little red tadpoles, to represent, by way of triumph, the tears of grief occasioned to their relations; a black scalping knife or hatchet at the bottom, to mark their being killed with those instruments; 17 others, hair very gray; black hoops, plain brown color, no mark but the short club or cassetete, to show they were knocked down dead, or had their brains beat out.

No. 6. Containing 193 boys' scalps, of various ages; small green hoops; whitish ground on the skin, with red tears in the middle, and black bullet marks, knife, hatchet, or club, as their deaths happened.

No. 7. 211 girls scalped, big and little; small yellow hoops; white ground; tears, hatchet, club, scalping knife, etc.

No. 8. This package is a mixture of all the varieties above mentioned, to the number of 122; with a box of birch bark, containing 29 little infants' scalps of various sizes; small white hoops; white ground.

With these packs the Chiefs send to your Excellency the following speech, delivered by Coneiogatchie, in council, interpreted by the elder Moore, the trader, and taken down by me in writing.

"Father!—We send you herewith many scalps, that you may see that we are not idle friends. A blue belt.

"Father!—We wish you to send these scalps over the water to the Great King, that he may regard them and be refreshed; and that he may see our faithfulness in destroying his enemies, and be convinced that his presents have not been made to ungrateful people. A blue and white belt with red tassels.

"Father!—Attend to what I am now going to say; it is a matter of much weight. The great King's enemies are many, and they grow fast in number. They were formerly like young panthers; they could neither bite nor scratch; we could play with them safely; we feared nothing they could do to us. But now their bodies are become big as the elk, and strong as the buffalo, they have also got great and sharp claws. They have driven us out of our country by taking part in your quarrel. We expect the great King will give us another country, that our children may live after us,

and be his friends and children as we are. Say this for us to the great King. To enforce it we give this belt. A great white belt with blue tassels.

"FATHER!—We have only to say further, that your traders exact more than ever for their goods; and our hunting is lessened by the war, so that we have fewer skins to give for them. This ruins us. Think of some remedy. We are poor, and you have plenty of everything. We know you will send us powder and guns and knives and hatchets; but we also want shirts and blankets. A little white belt."

I do not doubt but that your Excellency will think it proper to give some further encouragement to those honest people. The high prices they complain of are the necessary effect of the war. What ever presents may be sent for them through my hands shall be distributed with prudence and fidelity. I have the honour of being

Your Excellency's most obedient,
And most humble servant,
JAMES CRAUFURD.

Captain Dalton, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the United States, on the 5th of August, 1783, published the following estimate of the number of Indians employed by the British during the Revolutionary War:

Uchipweys	3000	Ottaways	300
Sues and Sothusè	1300	Mohawks	300
Creeks	700	Onondagas	300
Choctaws	600	Foxes	350
Cherokees	500	Muskulthe	200
Kackagoes	500	Tuscaroras	250
Delawares	500	Cayugas	200
Sokkie	450	Abinokkie	230
Chickasaws	400	Munseys	100
Plankishaws	400	Oneidas	150
Senecas	400	Tulawin	150
Putawawtawmas	400	Mohickons	60
Puyon	350		
Oniactmaws	300	Total	12,690
Shawanaws	300		

INDIAN NAMES

Ye say they all have passed away,
That noble race and brave;
That their light canoes have vanished
From off the crested wave;
That 'mid the forests where they roamed
There rings no hunter's shout;
But their names are on your waters;
Ye may not wash them out.

—Mrs. Sigourney.

The Iroquois have left their names for towns, rivers, lakes and mountains scattered throughout the state. These are conflicting, several different spellings of the name of the same place being a matter of frequent occurrence. This is natural and in fact inevitable. The Indians had no written language. Each of the Six Nations had a different dialect, and each clan in the different nations had its peculiarities of language. The white men in listening to the Indian names would spell them as pronounced, and in that way would necessarily have a name for each dialect at least. Not only this but some of the names came through the Dutch or the French and in that way produced more confusion. In some cases one name ultimately found general acceptance, and in other cases only two forms were in common use, but it must be apparent that there is a degree of confusion in names that is the source of considerable controversy.

The following list gives a few Indian names, with their meanings, and the English names which have supplanted them. As there is no desire to give the pronunciation neither diacritical marks nor accent marks are given:

Ga-na-da-wa-o	Running through the hemlocks	Dunkirk
De-as-hen-da-qua	Place for holding courts	Elicottville
De-on-gote	Place of hearing	Akron
Do-na-ta-gwen-da	Opening into an opening	Bath
Skwe-do-wa	Great plain	Elmira
Ta-yo-ga	At the forks	Tioga Point
Ne-o-dak-he-at	At the head of the lake	Ithaca
Skoi-yase	Place of whortleberries	Waterloo
Was-co	Floating bridge	Auburn

Ah-wa-ga	Where the valley widens	Owego
Skan-e-a-dice	Long lake	Skaneateles
Us-te-ka	Bitternut hickory	Marcellus
Ha-nan-to	Small hemlock limbs on water	Jordan
Ga-na-wa-ya	A great swamp	Liverpool
Ga-sun-to	Bark in the water	Jamesville
Ka-hu-ah-go	Great or wide river	Watertown
Nun-da-da-sis	Around the hill	Utica
Ole-hisk	Nettles	Oriskany
Ka-da-wis-dag	White field	Clinton
Ka-ne-to-ta	Pine tree standing alone	Canastota
Chu-de-naang	Where the sun shines out	Chittenango
O-che-nang	Bull thistles	Binghamton
Do-sho-weh	Splitting the fork	Buffalo
Ta-na-wun-da	Swift water	Tonawanda Creek
Deo-on-go-wa	The great hearing place	Batavia
Te-car-ese-ta-ne-ont	Place with a sign post	Wyoming
Chi-nose-heh-geh	On the side of the valley	Warsaw
Gen-nis-he-yo	The beautiful valley	Genesee River
Nun-da-o	Hilly	Nunda
Ga-ne-a-sos	Place of many berries	Conesus Lake
O-ha-di	Trees burned	Geneseo
Ga-nus-ga-go	Among the milkweed	Dansville
De-o-de-sote	The spring	Livonia
O-neh-chi-geh	Long ago	Sandy Creek
He-soh	Floating nettles	Olean
Ga-a-nun-deh-ta	A mountain flattened down	Cazenovia
Ga-sko-sa-go	At the falls	Rochester
Date-car-sko-sase	The highest falls	Niagara Falls
Ga-nun-da-gwa	A place selected for a settlement	Canandaigua
Ga-na-gweh	A village suddenly sprung up	Palmyra
Ga-nun-da-sa-ga	New settlement village	Geneva
Ta-la-que-ga	Small bushes	Little Falls
Ga-na-wa-da	On the rapids	Fonda
Ga-na-jo-hi-e	Washing the basin	Canajoharie
Sko-har-le	Flood-wood	Schoharie
Ga-ha-oose	Shipwrecked canoe	Cohoes Falls
Je-hone-ta-lo-ga	Noisy	Ticonderoga
Ta-ha-wus	He splits the sky	Mt. Marcy
Se-ha-vus	First hoeing of the corn	Schenevus

Ti-o-run-da.....	Place where two streams meet...	Fishkill
Chic-o-pe.....	A large spring.....	Saratoga Springs
Scho-no-we.....	A great flat.....	Schenectady
Ots-ga-ru-gu.....	Hemp hill.....	Cobleskill
Sha-se-ounse.....	Boiling water.....	Seneca Falls
Te-can-as-e-to-e...	Board on the water.....	Canisteo River
Ag-wam.....	Place abounding in fish.....	Southampton
Che-pon-tuc	Hard climbing.....	Glens Falls
Kah-cho-quah-na..	Place where they dip fish.....	Whitehall
Al-ip-conck.....	Place of elms.....	Tarrytown
Ga-na-yat.....	Stone at the bottom of the water.	Silver Lake
De-o-wun-dake-no.	Place where boats were burned...	Albion
Ga-na-wa-ga.....	The rapid river.....	St. Lawrence River

It is possible that a few of the names in this list are Algonquin instead of Iroquois.

EXECUTIVES DURING THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH COLONIAL PERIODS, AND SINCE THE STATE ORGANIZATION

DUTCH PERIOD

Names	When Appointed or Elected
Adrian Joris	1623
Cornelius Jacobsen Mey	1624
William Verhulst	1625
Peter Minuit	May 4, 1626
Wouter Van Twiller	April, 1633
William Kieft	March 28, 1638
Peter Stuyvesant	May 11, 1647

ENGLISH COLONIAL PERIOD

Richard Nicolls	September 8, 1664
Francis Lovelace	August 17 (O. S.), 1668
Cornelius Evertse, Jr., and a council of war	August 12 (N. S.), 1673
Anthony Colve	September 19, 1673
Edmond Andros	November 10, 1674
Anthony Brockholles, Commander-in-Chief	November 16, 1677
Sir Edmond Andros	August 7, 1678
Anthony Brockholles, Commander-in-Chief	January 13, 1681
Thomas Dongan	August 27, 1683
Sir Edmond Andros	August 11, 1688
Francis Nicholson, Lieutenant-Governor	October 9, 1688
Jacob Leisler	June 3, 1689
Henry Sloughter	March 19, 1691
Richard Ingoldesby, Commander-in-Chief	July 26, 1691
Benjamin Fletcher	August 30, 1692
Earl of Bellamont	April 13, 1698
John Nanfan, Lieutenant-Governor	May 17, 1699
Col. William Smith, Col. Abraham De Peyster, and Col. Peter Schuyler as oldest councillors in turn presided during the absence of Nanfan from	March 5 to May 19, 1701

Names	When Appointed or Elected
John Nanfan, Lieutenant-Governor	May 19, 1701
Lord Cornbury	May 3, 1702
Lord Lovelace	December 18, 1708
Peter Schuyler, President	May 6, 1709
Richard Ingoldesby, Lieutenant-Governor	May 9, 1709
Peter Schuyler, President	May 25, 1709
Richard Ingoldesby, Lieutenant-Governor	June 1, 1709
Gerardus Beekman, President	April 19, 1710
Robert Hunter	June 14, 1710
Peter Schuyler, President	July 21, 1719
William Burnet	September 17, 1720
John Montgomerie	April 15, 1728
Rip Van Dam, President	July 1, 1731
William Cosby	August 1, 1732
George Clarke, President	March 10, 1736
George Clarke, Lieutenant-Governor	October 30, 1736
George Clinton	September 2, 1743
Sir Danvers Osborne	October 10, 1753
James DeLancey, Lieutenant-Governor	October 12, 1755
Sir Charles Hardy	September 3, 1755
James DeLancey, Lieutenant-Governor	June 3, 1757
Cadwallader Colden, President	August 4, 1760
Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor	August 8, 1761
Robert Monckton	October 26, 1761
Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor	November 18, 1761
Robert Monckton	June 14, 1762
Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor	June 28, 1763
Sir Henry Moore	November 13, 1765
Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor	September 12, 1769
Earl of Dunmore	October 19, 1770
William Tryon	July 9, 1771
Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor	April 7, 1774
William Tryon	June 28, 1775
Peter Van Brugh Livingston	May 23, 1775

The following two persons acted as military governors during the Revolution, but were not recognized by the state of New York:

Names	When Appointed or Elected
James Robertson	March 23, 1780
Andrew Elliott, Lieutenant-Governor	April 1, 1783

The following persons acted as executives during the early part of the Revolution before a governor was duly elected:

Names	When Appointed or Elected
Nathaniel Woodhull, President *pro tem*	August 28, 1775
Abraham Yates, Jr., President *pro tem*	November 2, 1775
Nathaniel Woodhull	December 6, 1775
John Harding, President *pro tem*	December 16, 1775
Abraham Yates, Jr., President *pro tem*	August 10, 1776
Abraham Yates, Jr	August 28, 1776
Peter R. Livingston	September 26, 1776
Abraham Ten Broeck	March 6, 1777
Leonard Gansevoort, President *pro tem*	April 18, 1777
Pierre Van Cortlandt, President Council Safety	May 14, 1777

GOVERNORS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Names	Residence	Date of Election
George Clinton	Ulster County	July 9, 1777
John Jay	New York City	April, 1795
George Clinton	Ulster County	April, 1801
Morgan Lewis	Dutchess County	April, 1804
Daniel D. Tompkins	Richmond County	April, 1807
*John Tayler	Albany County	March, 1817
De Witt Clinton	New York City	1817
Joseph C. Yates	Schenectady	November 6, 1822
De Witt Clinton	New York City	November 3, 1824
*Nathaniel Pitcher	Washington County	February 11, 1828
Martin Van Buren	Columbia County	November 5, 1828
*Enos T. Throop	Cayuga County	March 12, 1829
William L. Marcy	Rensselaer County	November 7, 1832
William H. Seward	Cayuga County	November 7, 1838
William C. Bouck	Schoharie County	November 8, 1842
Silas Wright	St. Lawrence County	November 5, 1844
John Young	Livingston County	November 3, 1846
Hamilton Fish	New York City	November 7, 1848
Washington Hunt	Niagara County	November 5, 1850
Horatio Seymour	Oneida County	November 2, 1852
Myron H. Clark	Ontario County	November 7, 1854

*Elected Lieutenant-Governor and succeeded to the office of Governor through the death or resignation of the Governor.

Names	Residence	Date of Election
John A. King	Queens County	November 4, 1856
Edwin D. Morgan	New York City	November 2, 1858
Horatio Seymour	Oneida County	November 4, 1862
Reuben E. Fenton	Chautauqua County	November 8, 1864
John T. Hoffman	New York City	November 3, 1868
John A. Dix	New York City	November 5, 1872
Samuel J. Tilden	New York City	November 3, 1874
Lucius Robinson	Chemung County	November 7, 1876
Alonzo B. Cornell	New York City	November 4, 1879
Grover Cleveland	Erie County	November 7, 1882
*David B. Hill	Chemung County	January 6, 1885
Roswell P. Flower	New York City	November 3, 1891
Levi P. Morton	Dutchess County	November 6, 1894
Frank S. Black	Rensselaer County	November 3, 1896
Theodore Roosevelt	Nassau County	November 8, 1898
Benjamin B. Odell	Orange County	November 6, 1900
Frank Higgins	Cattaraugus County	November 8, 1904

*Elected Lieutenant-Governor and succeeded to the office of Governor through the resignation of the Governor.

MAYORS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Names	Year of Election
Thomas Willett	1665
Thomas Delavall	1666
Thomas Willett	1667
Cornelius Steenwyck	1668
Thomas Delavall	1671
Matthias Nicoll	1672
John Lawrence	1673
William Dervall	1675
Nicholas De Meyer	1676
Stephanus Van Cortlandt	1677
Thomas Delavall	1678
Francois Rombouts	1679
William Dyre	1680
Cornelius Steenwyck	1681
Gabriel Minveille	1684
Nicholas Bayard	1685
Stephanus Van Cortlandt	1686
Pieter Delanoy	1689
Abraham De Peyster	1691
Charles Lodowick	1694
William Merritt	1695
Johannes De Peyster	1698
David Provoost	1699
Isaac De Reimer	1700
Thomas Noell	1701
Philip French	1702
William Peartree	1703
Ebenezer Wilson	1707
Jacobus Van Cortlandt	1710
Caleb Heathcote	1711
John Johnston	1714
Jacobus Van Cortlandt	1719
Robert Walters	1720
Johannes Jansen	1725
Robert Lurting	1726
Paul Richard	1735
John Cruger	1739
Stephen Bayard	1744
Richard Holland	1747
John Cruger, Jr.	1757
Whitehead Hicks	1766
David Matthews (Mayor during the Revolution)	1776
James Duane (First Mayor after the Revolution)	1784
Richard Varick	1789
Edward Livingston	1801
De Witt Clinton	1803
Marinus Willett	1807
De Witt Clinton	1808
Jacob Radcliff	1810
De Witt Clinton	1811
John Ferguson	1815
Jacob Radcliff	1815
Cadwallader Colden	1818
Stephen Allen	1821
William Paulding	1824
Philip Hone	1826
William Paulding	1827
Walter Bowne	1829
Gideon Lee	1833
Cornelius W. Lawrence	1834
Aaron Clark	1837
Isaac L. Varian	1839

Names	Year of Election
Robert H. Morris	1841
James Harper	1844
William F. Havemeyer	1845
A. H. Mickle	1846
William V. Brady	1847
William F. Havemeyer	1848
Caleb S. Woodhull	1849
Ambrose C. Kingsland	1851
Jacob Westervelt	1853
Fernando Wood	1855
Daniel F. Tieman	1858
Fernando Wood	1860
George Opdyke	1862
C. Godfrey Gunther	1864
John T. Hoffman	1866
Thomas Comanor*	1868
A. Oakey Hall	1869
William F. Havemeyer	1871
William H. Wickham	1875
Smith Ely	1877
Edward Cooper	1879
William R. Grace	1881
Franklin Edson	1883
William R. Grace	1885
Abram S. Hewitt	1887
Hugh J. Grant	1888
Thomas F. Gilroy	1892
William L. Strong	1895
Robert A. Van Wyck	1898
Seth Low	1901
George B. McClellan	1903

*Acting mayor for a short time after Hoffman's election as Governor.

NEW YORK CITY'S GROWTH IN POPULATION

1653	1,120
1661	1,743
1673	2,500
1696	4,455
1731	8,628
1756	10,381
1773	21,876
1786	23,614
1793	33,131
1800	60,499
1810	96,373
1823	123,706
1830	202,589
1835	270,068
1840	312,000
1850	515,394
1860	814,254
1870	942,292
1880	1,206,299
1890	1,515,301
1900	3,595,936
1905	4,014,304

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